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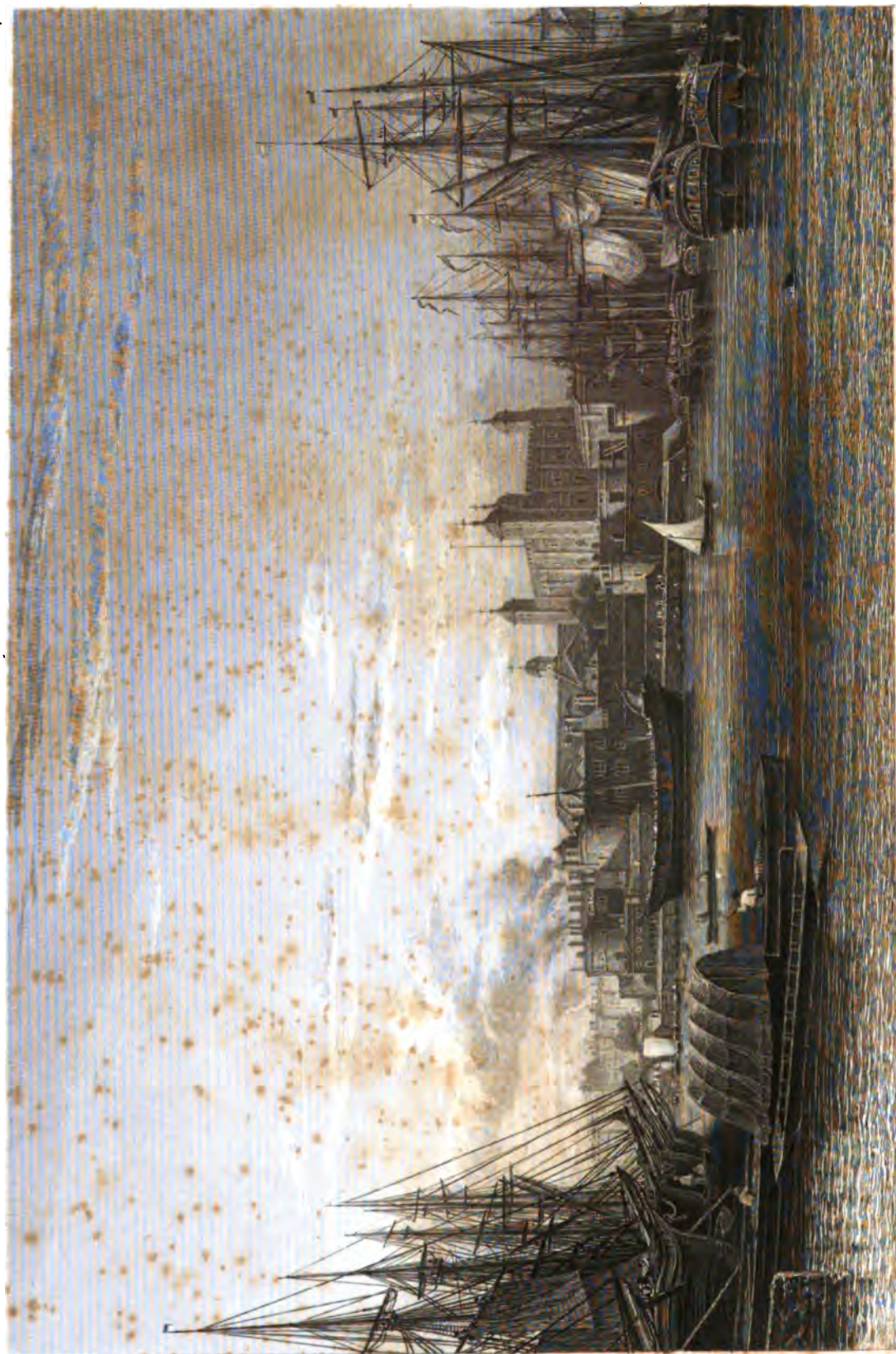
THE

History and Antiquities

OF THE

TOWER OF LONDON.





Engraved by J. Pyle

Drawn by P. Webb

THE HARBOUR OF LONDON, AS SEEN FROM THE TOWER OF LONDON, MARCH 11, 1843.

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THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
TOWER OF LONDON,
WITH
BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES
OF ROYAL AND DISTINGUISHED PERSONS,
DEDUCED FROM
Records, State-Papers, and Manuscripts,
AND FROM
OTHER ORIGINAL AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

BY
JOHN BAYLEY, ESQ. F.A.S.
OF THE HONORABLE SOCIETY OF THE INNER TEMPLE,
AND
ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S SUB-COMMISSIONERS ON THE PUBLIC RECORDS.



IN TWO PARTS,
PART I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

1821.

**J. M'CREERY, Took-Court,
Chancery-Lane, London.**

APPENDIX

TO

PART I.*

The return to a commission for inquiring into the state of the Tower, in the ninth year of the reign of king Edward the Third, preserved in the Record Office in the Tower.

VENERABILI in Christo patri domino J. Dei gratiâ Cantuar' archiepiscopo totius Angliæ primati, ac illustris domini regis cancellario, sui Johannes de Molyns, Thomas de Pulteneye, et Robertus de Kelleseye, reverenciam et honorem. Per commissionem domini regis nobis missam, cujus data est apud Berewycum super Twedam xvj. die Octobris anno regni domini regis Edwardi nunc ix^{mo}, accessimus ad Turrim London' die Jovis proxima post festum sanctæ Lucie virginis, anno supradicto, ad supervidendum defectus in Turri prædictâ et aliis locis in circuitu ejusdem Turris existentes, et ad inquirendum per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum de civitate London', per quorum vel cujus incuriam hujusmodi defectus contigerunt ibidem, et quo tempore, qualiter, et quo modo, et de quanto defectus illi sufficienter reparari possint et emendari, prout in commissione prædictâ plenius continetur. Et per inquisitionem coram nobis super præmissis captam per sacramentum Willielmi Box, Henrici Cros, Ricardi Asselyn, Laurencij le Cook, Gosselini de Clyne, Mauricij Sturgys, Walteri le Hurer, Willielmi Cros, Gilberti le Hurer, Johannis le Hurer, Willielmi de Wrotham, Petri Atte Vygne, Johannis de Wrotham, et Ricardi de Preston' proborum hominum visneti Turris prædictæ et per sacramentum Simonis de Cantuaria, Johannis de Cotenham, Roberti de Farnham, Thome de Gylingham, carpentariorum; Petri de Tytemerssh, Willielmi de Rameseye,

* It was originally intended that a regular series of records concerning the Tower, particularly in the reign of Henry III., should have been introduced in this appendix; but the space that it was found they would occupy, renders their omission necessary.

Reginaldi de Whytham, et Roberti de Dippenhale, cimentariorum; Willielmi le Plomer et Roberti le Plomer, plumbariorum; Johannis de Waleworth et Ricardi de Zengeatstone, vitriariorum; Alexandri le Tyghelere et Roberti de Maydenston, tegulariorum; Walteri le Smyth, et Nicholai Corand, in Turri prædictâ comorantium, invenimus defectus subscriptos, videlicet, in defectibus murorum, karnell', et graduum altæ turris emendandis et reparandis de opere cimentariorum ad summam xl. librarum. Item in defectibus murorum gutter' aulæ camerar' et stabulæ constabularii emendandis et reparandis, vj. librarum, xij. solidorum, iiij. denariorum. Item in defectibus murorum, pylers, graduum, camerar' aulæ domini regis, camerar' capellæ dicti domini regis, coquinæ, pistrinæ parieat' camerar' dominæ reginæ, capell' dictæ dominæ reginæ, et caminorum juxta interiorem portam emendandis et reparandis, xvj. librarum, xij. solidorum, iiij. denariorum. Item in defectibus murorum ad interiorem portam ad dexteram manum c. solidorum. Item in defectibus unius muri juxta le Blaunchetour et camerar' le Wayte emendandis et reparandis vj. librarum, xij. solidorum, iiij. denariorum. Item in defectibus unius muri juxta turrim rotundam, et portam versus hospitem sanctæ Katerinæ juxta cameram domini regis in exteriori wardâ ad sinistram partem emendandis et reparandis vj. librarum, xij. solidorum, iiij. denariorum. Item in defectibus sex obstupantium contra warderob' in exteriori wardâ, graduum et viarum super murum emendandis et reparandis, xl. librarum. Item in defectibus unius muri super Thamisiâ infra exteriorem portam, et unius muri juxta le Blaunche-tour ex parte sinistra emendandis et reparandis l. librarum unde summa totalis de opere cimentariorum, clxxj. libr', xij. solid', iiij. denar'.

Item in defectibus altæ turris de opere carpentariorum in turell' et duobus aer' turris unius aer' coquinæ et cameræ contra hostium, fenestrarum, et hostiorum emendandis et reparandis, xxx. librarum. Item in defectibus aulæ, camerar' et stabular' constabularii emendandis et reparandis, xxvj. librarum, xij. solidorum, iiij. denariorum. Item in defectibus camerar' dominæ reginæ et capell' emendandis et reparandis, lxxij. librarum, vj. solidorum, viij. denariorum. Item in defectibus aulæ domini regis in coopertura, shyngles, coquinæ, pistrinæ, veteris capellæ emendandis et reparandis, l. librarum. Item in defectibus unius cameræ, unius portæ juxta turrim emendandis et reparandis, x. librarum. Item in defectibus trium stabular' emendandis et reparandis c. librarum. Item in defectibus quatuor pontium emendandis et reparandis l. librarum. Item in defectibus unius domus cassatæ ad emendandum et reparandum in wardâ monetæ xxx. librarum. Unde summa totalis de opere carpentariorum ccclxx. libr'.

Item in defectibus altæ turris et gutter' de opere lumbariorum, xxx. libr'. Item in defectibus coquinæ, aulæ, et cameræ, emendandis et reparandis, x. librarum. Item in defectibus unius cameræ juxta interiorem cameram emendandis et reparandis, xx. solidos. Item in defectibus unius aulæ, unius cameræ, et unius stabulæ, et gutter' ibidem reparandis et emendandis x. librarum. Item in defectibus aulæ domini regis, camerar', capellæ, et coquinæ dicti domini regis Item in defectibus camerar' dominæ reginæ, capell' et gutter' ibidem emendandis et reparandis, vj. libr', xij. solid', iiij. denar'. Item in defectibus et pistrinæ, xl. solid'. Item in defectibus unius cameræ super le Watergate emendandis et reparandis, xij. librarum vj. solid' in defectibus turell' le Wayte c. solidorum. Item in defectibus portæ versus hospitalem sanctæ Katerinæ emendandis et reparandis in defectibus unius turris vocatæ la Blaunchetour et duorum turell' annexorum emendandis et reparandis, x. librarum. Item in defectibus unius turris vocatæ Corandestour emendandis et reparandis, xij. libr', vj. solidorum, viij. denariorum. Item in defectibus capellæ xl. librarum. Item in defectibus unius turelli vocati la Moneyetour emendandis et reparandis, c. solidorum. Item in defectibus duorum turellorum ad exteriorem portam emendandis et reparandis, xij. librarum, vj. solidorum, viij. denariorum. Unde summa totalis de defectibus plumbariorum ccxiiij. libr', xij. solid', iiij. denar'.

Item in defectibus trium stabular' pro opere tegulariorum infra interiorem wardam et extra, c. librarum. Item in defectibus domorum monetæ emendandis et reparandis, xij. librarum, vj. solidorum, viij. denariorum. Unde summa totalis tegulariorum, cxiiij. libr', vj. solid', viij. denar'.

Item de defectibus capellæ turris, aulæ, camerar', et capellæ domini regis et reginæ de opere vitriariorum xxx. librarum. Unde summa totalis de opere vitriariorum xxx. libr'.

Item de defectibus hostiorum et fenestrarum in altâ turri pro opere ferri emendandis et reparandis iiij. libr'. Item in defectibus aulæ, camerar', et stabulæ constabularii, xl. solidorum. Item in defectibus aulæ domini regis et camerar', capellæ, coquinæ, et pistrinæ dicti domini regis emendandis et reparandis, xl. solidorum. Item in defectibus camerar', et capellæ dominæ reginæ emendandis et reparandis, xl. solidorum. Item in defectibus unius cameræ juxta interiorem portam emendandis et reparandis iiij. librarum. Item in defectibus quatuor turell' versus hospitalem sanctæ Katerinæ emendandis et reparandis xxx. solidorum. Item in defectibus trium portarum emendandis et reparandis iiij. librarum. Unde summa totalis de opere ferri, xx. libr', x. solid'.

Summa totalis omnium defectuum predictorum dcccxx. libr' iij. solid',

iiij. denar'. De quibus vero defectibus tempore quo Johannes de Crumbewell' fuit constabularius Turris prædictæ acciderunt defectus ad summam d. librarum. Et quoad residuum defectuum prædictorum non possunt intra se inquirere temporibus quorum vel cujus illi defectus contigerunt. Et dicunt jurati prædicti quod duo turelli unde unus super veterem portam et alius vocatus la Plummerye nuncquam plene perfectus indigent reparatione et emendatione ad summum dccx. librarum. Item dicunt quod unum kayum contra Thamisiam continens xxviiij. perticas in longitudine extendens se à parvâ posternâ usque Petywales indiget necessario de novo reparari, et exigit custus de muro lapideo construendo ciiij. libr', xiiij. solid', iiij. denar'.

In cujus rei testimonium jurati prædicti huic inquisitioni sigilla sua apposuerunt. Dat' apud Turrim prædictam die et anno supradictis.

*Pro Rectore et Capellanos in Turri London' constitutis.**

REX omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod cum in capellâ in Turri nostrâ London' sit tantum unus capellanus, vocatus rector ejusdem capellæ, qui ibidem missam celebrat cotidianam, et sexaginta solidatæ redditus cum pertinentiis in Candelweykstrete London' præfato rectori pro sustentatione suâ abolim per progenitores nostros sint concessæ. Nos volentes divinum cultum, tam pro honore sanctæ ecclesiæ, quam tranquillitate et quieti officiariorum et ministrorum nostrorum ac aliorum in dictâ Turri commorantium, ut ipsis de sacramentis et sacramentalibus aliisque divinis seviciis promptius ministretur, ampliare, tres capellanos una cum dicto rectore in dictâ capellâ ad divina pro salubri statu nostro et officiariorum, ministrorum et aliorum prædictorum dum vixerimus, et pro animabus nostris cum ab hac luce migraverimus, indies celebrandum perpetuo moraturos, duximus ordinandum, et pro sustentatione ipsorum rectoris et capellanorum ut melius et quietius vivere, et divinis officiis intendere valeant in futurum, dedimus et concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris eisdem rectori et capellanis triginta et unam solidatas et octo denaratas redditus cum pertinentiis quas solebamus percipere annuatim de

* Ex Rot. Pat. 28 Edw. III. pars i. m. 22, in Turr. Lond.

tenementis super la Tourhull' et Parva Wales in civitate prædictâ ac quendam redditum quinque solidorum juxta hospitale sanctæ Katerinæ prope dictam Turrin qui nobis ad scaccarium nostrum reddi solebat annuatim necnon quandam custumam quæ solet de stalbotes, kidellis et aliis diversis generibus ingeniorum in aquâ Thamis' percipi et reddi per annum, secundum majus et minus juxta qualitates temporum, per manus constabularii dictæ Turris ad scaccarium prædictum; et etiam decem marcas annuas ad idem scaccarium ad terminos Paschæ et sancti Michaelis per equales portiones, habend' et percipiend' singulis annis præfatis rectori et capellanis et successoribus suis, una cum sexaginta solidatis redditus cum pertinentiis in Candelweykstrete imperpetuum. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et heredibus nostris rectori et capellanis prædictis, de assensu et voluntate constabularii prædicti, viginti solidos annuos de feodo quod à nobis percipit per annum pro custodiâ Turris prædictæ, et de assensu Willielmi de Rothewell', clerici monetarum in dictâ Turri cussarum, decem solidos de annuo feodo suo quod a nobis percipit in officio prædicto, et de assensu Henrici de Brisele, magistri dictarum monetarum tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios de illo certo quod in eodem officio per annum percipit, ac de assensu operariorum utencium martellis pro dictis monetis cudendis, et talliatorum earundem monetarum, unum denarium per septimanam, de stipendiis cujuslibet eorundem; habend' et percipiend' eisdem rectori et tribus capellanis et successoribus suis de prædictis constabulario, clerico, magistro et operariis, et eorum successoribus singulis annis, terminis et temporibus consuetis, pro sustentatione suâ prædictâ imperpetuum; statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito, non obstante. Nolumus tamen quod prætextu hujusmodi concessionum nostram de dictis summis de feodis aut stipendiis præfatis rectori et capellanis factarum, prædicti constabularius, clericus, magister, et operarii, vel eorum aliquis, seu successores sui, cum in salutem suarum cedant animarum pro eisdem summis alibi allocationem aliquam petant aut optineant in futurum.

In cujus, &c.' Teste rege apud Turrin London' x. die
Februarij.

Per ipsum Regem.

*De Incorporatione Capellæ infra Hospitium Domini Regis.**

REX omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Inter cætera quæ regiam mages-
tatem exornant nisi prius aut honestius reperitur quam liberalitatis ac
munificentiae egregia virtus quæ non modo suum supereminentem statum
splendidissimum reddit; verum etiam in sui amorem omnium subditorum
animos allicit atque trahit. Set cum in omnes eandem liberalitatis glori-
osam virtutem excercere reges decet, in eos tamen precipuè munificentiae
munere uti convenit, qui se eorundem regum obsequiis devoverunt: post
plurima igitur et maxima beneficia per nos collata in alias tam cathe-
drales ecclesias, quam collegiatas capellas, et monasteria non pauca regni
nostri tandem ad decanum et ministros capellæ hospicii nostri meritis
oculos convertimus, qui quotidie in presentia nostrâ divino cultu man-
cipati quocumque divertimus, neque laboribus, neque sumptibus parcentes,
sedulo famulaturi sequuntur, quibus sane prospicere et meritis beneficiis
attollere non tantum debitum set honestum quoque judicamus, cui quidem
rei longè ante faciendo, id solum impedimento fuit quod iidem decanus et
ministri nec in aliquo certo loco corporati nec unum corpus aut una com-
munitas fuerunt. Nos igitur dictum impedimentum remove cupientes,
ad laudem gloriosam et honorem summæ et individuae Trinitatis ac glori-
osissimæ matris virginis beatæ Mariæ, ac exaltationem et stabilimentum
capellæ hospicii nostri, et divini cultus in eadem augmentationem prædic-
tam capellam hospicii nostri in liberâ capellâ nostrâ sancti Petri infra
Turrim nostram London' de uno decano et tribus canonicis, quorum unus
sit subdecanus, alius thesaurarius, et tertius præcentor ejusdem capellæ
hospicii nostri, fundamus, creamus, erigimus, ac perpetuis futuris tempo-
ribus duraturam stabilimus per presentes. Quos decanum et canonicos
ac omnes et singulos successores suos, suis temporibus, juxta ordinationes
et statuta in hac parte per nos vel executores nostros edenda et statuenda,
præfici, regi, dirigi, et gubernari volumus. Ac dilectum nobis in Christo
magistrum Johannem Gunthorp' clericum, decanum dictæ capellæ hospicii
nostri, ac Nicholaum Hewys clericum, subdecanum, Ricardum Surlond,
thesaurarium, et Johannem Chirche præcentorem capellæ nostræ præfi-
cimus, ordinamus, deputamus, et etiam realiter nominamus, et institumus,
ipsosque corporamus, unimus, et ipsos et successores suos pro perpetuo
corporari, uniri, et stabiliri decernimus et declaramus, per præsentis. Et

* Ex Rot. Pat. 22, 23 Edw. IV. pars ii. m. 7, in Turri Lond.

quod iidem decanus, subdecanus, thesaurarius, et præcentor, sint unum corpus et una communitas corporata, in re et nomine imperpetuum. Et quod prædicta capella hospicii nostri, libera capella regia hospicii regis, et quod iidem decanus et subdecanus, thesaurarius et præcentor, et eorum successores imperpetuum, decanus et canonici liberæ capellæ regię hospicii regis vocentur, et nuncupentur; et quod ipsi et successores sui per nomen et sub nomine decani et canonicorum liberæ capellæ regię hospicii regis implacitare possint, vel implacitari ac prosequi omnimodas causas, querelas, actiones, reales et personales ac mixtas, cujuscumque sint generis vel naturæ, ac respondere valeant et defendere sub nomine prædicto in eisdem, coram quibuscumque iudicibus tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus. Et quod iidem decanus et canonici sub eodem nomine sint personæ habiles et capaces in lege ad perquirendum et recipiendum terras, tenementa, annuitates, redditus, servicia, advocaciones et patronatus ecclesiarum, emolumenta et alia possessiones et hereditamenta quæcumque, tam spiritualia quam temporalia; et tam de nobis et heredibus nostris quam de aliis personis quibuscumque, licet ea de nobis et heredibus nostris mediâtè vel immediâtè teneantur; habenda et tenenda decano et canonicis prædictis, et successoribus suis imperpetuum, absque molestatione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum, aut aliorum quorumcumque. Et quod iidem decanus et canonici et eorum successores habeant unum sigillum commune pro negociis et factis suis sigillandis. Et ulterius, de certâ scienciâ et mero motu nostris, concessimus, et per præsentis concedimus, præfatis decano et canonicis in partem sustentationis eorum prædictam liberam capellam nostram sancti Petri infra Turrim nostram London', cum omnibus juribus, oblationibus, decimis, proficiis, annuitatibus, commoditatibus, emolumentis, et pertinentiis suis quibuscumque, habendam et tenendam sibi et successoribus suis, de nobis et heredibus nostris, in proprios usus imperpetuum. Et insuper de uberiori gratiâ nostrâ concedimus, et licenciam damus per præsentis, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, eisdem decano et canonicis, quod ipsi et successores sui perquirere possint et recipere, terras, tenementa, redditus, servicia, reversiones, et advocaciones ecclesiarum, ad valorem centum librarum per annum, tam de nobis quam de aliis; licet ea de nobis teneantur in capite: habenda, tenenda, et approprianda eisdem decano et canonicis et successoribus suis imperpetuum, absque molestatione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum aut aliorum quorumcumque; statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis, seu aliquo alio statuto, actu, ordinatione, seu provisione, in contrarium facto sive edito, non obstante. Et hoc absque fine seu

feodo magno vel parvo, seu aliquo alio fine quocumque, nobis aut hereditibus nostris reddendis, vel faciendis pro præmissis, seu aliquo præmissorum. Et ulterius volentes eisdem decano et canonicis gratiam facere ampliorem, de gratiâ nostrâ speciali concessimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, eisdem decano et canonicis, quod ipsi et successores sui exonerati sint imperpetuum et quieti de omnimodis finibus et feodis tam pro præsentibus litteris nostris, quam pro omnibus aliis litteris patentibus, cartis, et brevibus originalibus et judicialibus, ac aliis brevibus quibuscumque, tam in cancellariâ nostrâ quam in quibuscumque curiis nostris et heredum nostrorum, habendis; ac etiam quod ipsi et successores sui habeant tam præsentibus litteras nostras quam omnia alia litteras nostras patentes, cartas, et brevia sua originalia et judicialia, ac alia brevia sua quæcumque in cancellariâ nostrâ, et in quibuscumque curiis et placeis nostris et heredum nostrorum, sigillo nostro vel sigillis nostris et heredum nostrorum sigillata et sigillanda, tam de magnis quam de parvis feodis, ac omnibus aliis feodis sigilli quibuscumque, ad nos vel heredes nostros spectantibus, quietâ imperpetuum. Et insuper volumus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod tam prædicti decanus et canonici et successores sui, quam custos sive custodes hanaperii cancellariæ nostræ, et ejus vel eorum deputati pro tempore existente; et omnes alij de omnibus et singulis hujusmodi finibus et feodis erga nos et heredes nostros exonerati et quieti existant imperpetuum.

In cujus, etc. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium xxviij. die Februarij.

Per ipsum Regem et de data, etc.

The following is extracted from a survey made of the Tower, in order to a general repair of its different buildings, in the twenty-third year of king Henry the Eighth, preserved in the Chapter-house at Westminster.

“ THE BELL TOWER . . . ng at the weste ende of the Tower. The walls of the same repayrede, and the vyces and the ha s of a dore to be made by the masons, and new dore therunto of tymber by the carpenters; moreov^r the same Tower to be roughe casted; th'amount of the same by estyacion as followith.

Cane stone, iij. tons. sm'.; tymber, d. loode bourds, c.; lyme, viij^c. at v^s. the c.; sande, xxiiij. loodes, at vj^d.

The wall conteynyng in lengthe from the forenamede *Bell Towr* unto *Betcham Tower*, cxlj. foote. The whiche forsaide wall p'te of it to be ventyde, garyted, coped, lowped, and also crestyde. The walke under foote, called the vamer, to be repayrede w^t Cane stone by the masons, as also the rough castyng of the same wall, by estymacion as followith.

Cane stone, xx. tons, sm'. . . .; lyme, viij^c. at v'. sm'. . . .; sande, xxiiij. loodes, sm'. . . .

Beytcham Tower, the walls of the same rounde aboute in certayn placis to be new ventyde, copyde, garyttede, lowpyd, and crestyd, w^t the two turrets of the same, by the masons; and also the same rough castede, th'amount of the same as followth. Also more, two new rofes of tymber upon the twoo turrets, to be made by the carpenters, and a newe flore to be made in lyke maner.

Cane stone, xxx. tons, sm'. vijⁱⁱ. x^t.; ragge stone, ix. tons, sm'. x^t. vj^d.; bryck, v. m^l. sm'. xxv^t.; tymber, iiij. loods, bourds, ij^c. di. xxxiiij^t. ij^d.; lyme, xx^c. vⁱⁱ.; sande, lx. loode, xxx^t.; more greate plank boards, iiij^t. xiiij^t. iiij^d.

The wall from *Beytcham Tower* unto *Robyn the Devylls Tower*, conteynyng in lengthe cxxvj. foote, the whiche forsayd wall under foote to be pavyde, and the same wall to be copyde, lowpyd, garretyd, and crestyd by the forsayd masons, and the same wall to be roughcasted, th'amōnt ys.

Cane stone, xl. tons, xⁱⁱ.; lyme, vij^c. xxxv^t.; sande, xxj. loode, x^t. vj^d.

Robyn the Devyll's Tower, the wall of the topps of the same rownde abowte to be taken downe vij. fote depe, the same walls to be garyted, ventyd, lowpyd, copyde, and crestyde, moreover the vyces of the same tower to be repayred all w^t Cane stone by the masons amoth by estymacion.

Cane stone, cl. tons, xxxvijⁱⁱ. x^t.; lyme, xxx^c. vijⁱⁱ. x^t.; sande, lxxxx. loode, xlv^t.

The wall from *Robyn the Devyll's Towr* unto *Bower's Towr* conteynythe in length lxxxx. foote the same wall the moste part of y^t to be new copyde, lowpyd, and crestyde, and the walke under foote off the same wall to be new pavyde thorow owte w^t Cane stone by the masons as foloth.

Cane stone, cc tons, lⁱⁱ.; lyme, xl^c. xⁱⁱ.; sande, cxx. loode, iiijⁱⁱ.

Bowear's Tower, and the two turrets of the same to be taken downe, the moste p'te of y^t xx foote depe, and rownde aboute to be new garytyde, ventyde, lowpyde, copyde, and crestyde by the masons with Cane stone and bryck and roughcastyd.

Cane stones, clx. tons, xlⁱⁱ.; bryck, vj. m^l. xxx^t.; lyme, xl^c. xⁱⁱ.; sande, cxx. loode, iiijⁱⁱ.

The wall from *Bowear's Towr* unto *Burbege Tower* conteynnyng in lengthe lxxxx. foote, the whiche wall to be copyd, ventyd, lowpyde, and crestyde, and the walke under foote of the same pavyde w^t Cane stone by the masons as foloth, and the same wall w^t th'other wall aforsayde to be roughcastyde rounde about.

Cane stones, clx. tons, xl^h.; lyme to roughcaste it, vij^c., xxxv^r.; sande to the same xxj. loode, x^r. vj^d.

Burbedge Tower, the walls of the same rownde about w^t one turret therto app'teynyng, the same turrett to be taken downe x. foote depe, and the walls of the same tower rownde abowte to be newe garyted, ventyde, lopyd, and crestyde, and all the vyces of the same new repayrede w^t Cane stone by the masons, by estymacion amountith.

Cane stones, cxx. tons, xxx^h.; bryck, iiij. m^l. xx^r.; lyme, xxx^c. vij^h. x^r.; sande, lxxxx. loode, xlv^r.

The wall from *Burbedge Tower* unto the M^r. of th'Ordynance lodgyng, callede the *Bryck Towr*, conteynnyng in lengthe liij. foote, the whiche forsayd wall p'te of it to be ventyde, copyde, and crestyde, and the wall under fote pavyd w^t Cane stone, and also roughcastede to th'amount as foloth.

Cane stones, xxx. tons, vij^h. x^r.; lyme, v^c. xxv^r.; sande, xv. loode, vij^r. vj^d.

The *Bryck Tower*, the maister of th'Ordynance lodging new repayrede w^t bryck, safe at the foundation, a little p'ysse to be mendyd w^t Cane stone and roughcast.

Cane stone, v. tons, xxv^r.; lyme, iij^c., xv^r.; sande, ix. loode, iiij^r. vj^d.

The wall from the said *Bryck Towr*, where the M^r. of th'Ordynance lyeth, unto the nexte tow^r whiche we canot name, that stondith at the northe easte ende, y^t in lengthe xlvj. foote, the toppes of the same wall to be ventyde, copyd, and crestyde, and roughcast w^t Cane stone, &c.

Cane stone, xxvj. tons, vj^h. x^r.; lyme to the same, iiij^c. xx^r.; sande to the same, xij. loode, vj^r.

The tower at th'easte ende as afforsaide and the two turrettis of the same tow^r, and the walls rounde about to be coynde, garyttede, ventyde, and crestyde w^t Cane stones by the masons, and the vyces of the same to be newe made; also by the carpenters, a new flore of tymber, and twoo rofes for the twoo turrettis of new tymber, and bourded, and the olde leade new casted, &c.

Cane stone, ccxx. tons, lv^h.; tymber, xx. loodes, vj^h. xiiij^r.; bourdes, xij^c.

xl^r.; lyme to the same, xx^c. v^h.; sande to the same, lx. loode, xxx^r.

The wall from the forsaide tow^r above written unto the *Constable Towr*, conteynnyng in lengthe lxxxx. foote, the toppe of the same wall to be new

ventyde, copyd, lowpede, and dressyde, and the walke under foote to be new pavyde and rough castyde, amouth by estymacion.

Cane stone, lx. tons, xv^{li}.; lyme to the same, vj^c. xxx^s.; sande to the same, xviii. loode, ix^s.

The *Constabull's Tower*, the walls of the same rounde aboute to be copyde, ventyde, lowpyde, and crestyde, w^t the twoo turrets of the same, and the vices new repayrede w^t Cane stone by the masons, also roughcasted, and moreov^r two new rofes of tymber to be made upon the sayd turrets, and bourds for the same by the carpent^rs.

Cane stone, iiij^{xx}. tons, xx^{li}.; tymber, iiij. loads, xxvj^s. viij^d.; bourdes, iiij^s. xiiij^s. iiij^d.; lyme, x^c. l^s.; sande, xxx. loode, xv^s.

The wall from *Constable Tower* unto the tower at the easte ende of the warderobe, conteynyng in lengthe lxxij. foote, the whiche wall the moste p^{te} of yt to be new ventyde, crestyd, and copyde, and the walke of the same wall to be pavyd w^t Cane stone, and the same wall roughcastid.

Cane stone, xl. tons. x^{li}.; lyme to the same, v^c. xxv^s.; sande to the same, xv. loode, vij^s. vj^d.

The tower afforenamyde at the ende of the warderobe, the walls of the same w^t the twoo turrets to be ventyde, lowpyd, copyd, and crestyd, and the vices p^{te} mendyd w^t Cane stone, and the same tower roughcast.

Cane stone, xl. tons, x^{li}.; lyme to the same, x^c. l^s.; sande to the same, xxx. loads, xv^s.

The wall from the foresayd tow^r unto *Julyus Sesar Tow^r* at the este ende of the kyng's gallery, conteynyng in lengthe cxxxv. foote, the whiche wall p^{te} of yt to be copyd and crestyd w^t Cane stone, and also roughcaste.

Cane stone, vj. tons, xxx^s.; lyme to the same, viij^c. xl^s.; sande to the same, xxiiij. loads, xij^s.

The tower aforenamyde *Julyus Seaser Tower*, the walls of the same w^t one turret to be ventyde, copyde, and crestyde, and the vices of the same mended w^t Cane stone, and also the same tow^r roughcaste w^t lyme.

Cane stone, xxx. tons, vij^{li}. x^s.; lyme to the same, vij^c. xxxv^s.; sande to the same, xxj. loodes, x^s. vj^d.

The *New Tow^r* at the weste ende of the kyng's gallery over the kyng's bede chamb^r and prevy closset, the walls of yt and the turrett p^{te} of them to be ventyd, copyd, and crestyd, w^t Cane stone, and also the wyndowes of the same bed chambre and p^{vy} closset of the kyng to be repayred, and also the same tow^r to be roughcast w^t lyme.

Cane stone, xx. tons, v^{li}.; lyme to the same, x^c. l^s.; sand to the same, xxx. loode, xv^s.

The wall from the same tower unto the tower of the kyngs records, conteynynge in lengthe cvj. foote, the same walls to be ventyd, copyde, and crestyd w^t Cane stone, and also roughcaste w^t lyme.

Cane stone, c. tons, xxvⁱⁱ.; lyme to the same, xx^c. vⁱⁱ.; sande to the same, lx. loodes, xxx^s.

The same tower where the kyngs records lyethe, and lodgyng to the same adioynynge to the same tow^r, beyng all for the same records, the walls of the same rounde aboute the one half embattylled, garytted, ventyd, lopyd, copyde, and crestyde, wth Cane stone, and also roughcast w^t lyme, and also the wyndow^r of the same new made.

Cane stone, cxl. tons, xxxvⁱⁱ.; lyme to the same, xx^c. vⁱⁱ.; sande to the same, lx. loods, xxx^s.

The *Garden Tower*, the walls of the same, to be ventyd, garretyd, copyde, and crestyd, and the vices of the same mendyd w^t Cane stone, (also roughcaste) to the same tow^r a new roose of tymber to be made.

Cane stone, lxxx. tons, xxⁱⁱ.; lyme to the same, x^c. l^s.; sande to the same, xxx. loode, xv^s.; tymber to y^e same, xij. loods, iiijⁱⁱ.; bourdes to the same viij^s. xxvj^s. viij^d.

The wall from the same *Garden Tower* unto *Bell Tow^r*, and joynynge to Mr. lieutenant's house, conteynynge in lengthe cxl. foote, the same wall the moste p^{te} of yt to be garretyd, ventyd, lowpyd, copyd, and crestyd upon bothe sydes, and also roughcaste.

Cane stone, j^s. tons, xxvⁱⁱ.; lyme to the same, xx^c. vⁱⁱ.; sande to y^e same, lx. loods, xxx^s.

Some the provicions of this innerwarde, vjcⁱⁱ. xvij^s. vj^d.

Some the workemanshype, m^l. vc iiijⁱⁱ. xiii^s.

Some tota^l of the hole chargis off th^e innerwarde amōntith, m^l. m^l. clxxxviiijⁱⁱ. xij^s. v^d. . . .

Th'owter warde of the kyng's Tower of London.

The wall from the *Garden Tower* goyng vp the hill vpon the lefte hande conteynynge in lengthe ccxx. foote, the whiche wall to be new copyd, lowpyd, crestyd, and ventyde w^t Cane stone, and roughcaste as followth.

Cane stone, lxxx. tons, xxⁱⁱ.; lyme to the same, viij^c. xl^s.; sande to the same, xxiiij. loode, xij^s.

The wall from the tower and lodgyng of the kynges reco'ds upon the right hande goyng vp to the hyll adioynynge vnto Colde Harber g^t, in lengthe cxxx. ffoote, the same wall to be ventyd, lowpyd, copyd, and crestyd w^t Cane stone, and also roughcaste w^t lyme.

Cane stone, l. tons, xij^u. x^s.; lyme to the same, v^s. xxv^s.; sande to the same, xv. loodes, vij^s. vj^d.

The tower callede *Colde Harber*, the same tow^r the most p^rte of it to be taken downe, and to be garettyde, tabled, ventyde, lowped, copyde, and crestyd w^t Cane stone, and the vics of the same mendyd, as also roughcast w^t lyme.

Cane stone, cc. tons, l^u.; lyme to the same, xij^c. iij^u.; sand to the same, xxxvj. loode, xvij^s.

The wall from *Julyus Tow^r*, in the quenes garden syde, vnto the towre nexte to yt of the southe syde, conteynyng in lengthe lx. ffoote, to be copyd and crestyd w^t Cane stone, and also the same wall to be roughcaste.

Cane stone, xvj. tons, iijj^u.; lyme to the same, y^c. x^s.; sande, vj. loode, iij^s.

The tower of the sowthe syde of *Julyus Seasar Tow^r* on the garden syde to be ventid, lowped, copyd, and crested, also the vics off the same mendyd w^t Cane stone, and also roughcaste, as beside ij. new flores, and a flore for the turret of new tymber and bourdes.

Cane stone, xl. tons, x^u.; tymber, viij. loode, liij^s. iijj^d.; bourde, iij^c. xij^s. iijj^d.; lyme to the same, x^c. l^s.; sande to the same, xxx. loode, xv^s.

The wall from the same tower vnto the *Cradull Tower* on the weste syd, conteynyng in lengthe cvij. ffoote, to be lowpyd, copyd, and crestyd w^t Cane stone, and also roughcaste, the walk of the same to be pavyd, the fore p^rte of it w^t harde stone of Kent.

Cane stone, l. tons, xij^u. x^s.; lyme to the same, viij^c. xl^s.; sande to the same, xxiiij. loode, xij^s.; harde stone of Kente, xl. foote, x^s.

The *Cradull Tower*, the walls of the same to be ventyd, copyd, and crestyd wth Cane stone, and also roughcaste w^t lyme.

Cane stone, xxx. tons, vij^u. x^s.; lyme to the same, xc. l^s.; sande to the same, xxx. loods, xv^s.

The wall from the *Cradull Tow^r* vnto the kynge's prevy closet on the easte syde g^t, in lengthe xxxj. foote, the whiche wall to be copyd and crestyd, and also roughcaste w^t lyme.

Cane stone, iij. tons, xv^s.; lyme to the same, ic. v^s.; sande, iij. loode, xvij^d.

The wall from the kynge's prevy closet and chambre vnto *Seynt Thomas's Tower* g^t, in lengthe clxxx. ffoote, the whiche wal to be lopyd, copyde, and crestyd w^t Cane stone, and also roughcast w^t lyme.

Cane stone, c. tons, xxv^u.; lyme to the same, xij^c. iij^u.; sande to the same, xxxvj. loode, xvij^s.

The wall from *Seynt Thom's Tower* vnto the foregate or'gainst *Bell Tow^r*.

g^t in lengthe clx. ffoote, the same to be lowpyd, copyd, and crestyd w^t Cane stone, and also roughcaste.

Cane stone, xl. tons, x^u.; lyme to the same, xij^c. iij^u.; sande to the same, xxxvi. loode, xvij^t.

The tower at the Weste gate, the Wardyng gate, a battelment of new tymber on th'este syde, and apon the north syde to be copyd, lowped, and crestyd w^t Cane stone, and also roughcaste.

Tymber, vi. loode, xl^t.; Cane stone, x. tons, l^t.; lyme to the same, x^c. l^t.; sande to the same, xxx loode, xv^t.

The wall from the wardyng gate vnto the bulwark of bryck and stone g^t. in length iij^c. iij^u. ffoote, to be copyd and crestyd w^t Cane stone, and also roughcaste w^t lyme.

Cane stone, viij. tons, xl^t.; lyme to the same, xx^c. x^u.; sande to the same, lx. loode, xxx^t.

The bullwark as aforsayd to be new roughcaste with morter, the which for saide bulwark stondith be hynde the *Mynte*.

Lyme to the same, viij^c. xl^t.; sande to the same, xxiiij. loode, xij^t.

The wall from the same bulwark vnto the next at the northe este corner conteynyng in length v^c. xl. ffootes, the same wall to be ventyd, lowped, copyd, and crestyd w^t Cane stone, and also roughcaste and mended w^t bryck.

Cane stones, cc. tons, l^u.; lyme to the same, lx^c. xv^u.; sande to the same, ciiij^u. loode, iij^u. x^t.; bryck to the same, xxm^l. v^u.

The same bulwark at the northe easte end of the co'ner to be copyd and crestyd w^t Cane stone and bryck, and also roughcaste.

Cane stone, xxx. tons, vij^u. x^t.; bryck, iij. m^l. xx^t.; lyme to the same, xxj^c. v^u. v^t.; sande to the same, lxiiij. loode, xxxj^t. vj.

The wall from the same bulwark vnto the *Gallyman Tow* g^t. in length vjc. lxx. foot, the same wall to be copyd and crestyd w^t Cane stone and bryck, and also the same wall to be roughcasted w^t lyme.

Cane stone, lxxx. tons, xx^u.; bryck, xx m^l. v^u.; lyme, lx^c. xv^u.; sande, ciiij^u. loode, iij^u. x^t.

The *Gallyman Tow* to be copyd and crestyd, and also roughcaste w^t lyme.

Cane stone, lx. tons, xv^u.; lyme, xxx^c. vij^u. x^t.; sande, lxxxx. loode, xlv^t.

The wall of ether syde from the west syde of the wardyng gate vnto *Seynt Martens Tower* g^t. in lengthe ccxx. ffoote to be garytted, ventyd, lowped, copyd, and crestyd w^t Cane stone, and also the same to be roughcast.

Cane stone, xxx. tons, vij^u. x^t.; lyme, vj^c. xxx^t.; sande, xvij. loode ix^t.

Seynt Marten Towre to be mendyd at the water w^t Cane stone,* and to be roughcast.

Cane stone, x. tons, l^r.; lyme, vj^c. xxx^r.; sande, xvij. loode, ix^r.

The wall from *Seynt Marten's Tower* vnto the new bulwark of bryck vnto tower hyll warde, in lengthe (c. floote) to be copyd, garytted, and crestyd, and also roughcast.

Cane stone, xl. tons, x^u.; lyme, x^r. l^r.; sande, xxx. loode, xv^r.

Twoo brydges to be new made, comyng into the Tower vnder *Seynt Martens Towr*. with tymber made by the carpenters.

Tymber, xx. loode; vj^u. xij^r. iij^d.

The *Lyon Towre* to be roughcast w^t. lyme.

Lyme to the same, vj^c. xxx^r.; sande to the same, xvij. loode, ix^r.

Some the provic'ons of th'owter warde, iijc. iij^u. xvij^u. xv^r. vj^d.

Some the wo'ke manshippe, m^l. v^u. xvj^r. ij^d.

Some tota^u. of all the p'vicions amontith, ixclxxxxix^u. xij^r.

Some tota^u. of all the wo'kemanship, m^l. m^l. vc. iij^u. xij^u. xij^r.

Some tota^u. of the hole by estymacion, m^l. m^l. m^l. vc. lxxxxij^u. iij^r. j^d.

Here ensuith all other nedefull reperacions to be done apon s'tayne lodgings wⁱⁿ the same tower not yet set in hande:—

Fyrste, a new gallery for the quene to be made bytwene the king's gallery and the ende of the kyng's warderobe of his robes.

Also the roofes and fiores of twoo chambres for the quene, that ys to sey, her prevy chambre, and her dynyng chambre.

The kyng watchyng chambre, new rooffe and flore.

The olde hall to be taken downe and newe made.

The hall ketchyn to be newe made.

Also M^r. lieuten'nt's lodging to be newe made.

The greate Tow^r at the easte ende of the vtter gate to have newe roofes and new floorys.

Seynt Marten Towre w^{oute} the walle next vnto the *Lyon Towr* new roofes and new floorys.

The *Lions Towre* to have newe roofes and new florys.

Also the offyce of the *Juells hous* to be newe made, with s'tayn other houses of and appteynyng for th'Ordynaunce behynde the *Mynte*.

* Stone from the famous quarries at Caen in Normandy.

The following is an extract from a document entitled an "Abstracte of certayne Reperacions done within the Kyngs Towr of London," preserved in the Chapter-house at Westminster.

" Hereafter mencyoneth what hathe bene fynnyshed and wrought from the iiijth day of June laste paste unto the vijth day of this monthe of September, the xxiiijth yere of the raigne of o' sov'aigne lord kyng Henry the viijth.

Wrought and fynnysshede by the day by carpenters.

Item taken downe by the sayde carpenters the olde tymber of *Seynt Thomas Tower*, there a new frame to be made in taske, now fynnysshed and redy to be sett up. More taken downe, the olde houssys of office next unto the hall kechyn, there new frame for lodgings redy made in taske, sett upp and not half fynnysshed. More taken downe, twoo old lodgyngs and a little gallery adioynung unto the kings prevy clossett, there thiese ij lodgyngs sett up and new made in taske and almost fynnysshede.

More taken downe, the olde tymber of the quene's dynyng chamber, the frame therof new made in taske, redy to be sett upp.

More taken downe, the olde tymber of my lady the kings grandmother chamber, now to be made the kings wardrobe, the whiche forsayd ys up and wrought in taske half fynnysshed.

Off the whiche frames of olde tymber taken downe ys made and sett upp, three housys for the masons to work in, p'te therof burnyde for the meltyng of olde lede, and the rest savyd and kept.

More taken downe, the olde tymber upon the iiij. turrets upon the *White Tower*, the olde tymber of *Robyn the Devylls Tower*, the tymber of *Julyus Seasers Tower*, and the tymber of the tower at th' ende of kings wardrobe, the whiche iiij. towers fynnysshed vj. weks paste, and th'other iiij. turrets to be fynnysshed w'in viij. daye.

Carpenters wrought by the day.

More by the forsaide carpenters, wrought and made v. neue gynnes, iij. or iiij. doss. of ladders, dyvers moldes for them, as cradulls, bossys, for bryckleyars, roughcasters and tylers, as leyvers, and handebarrowes, as dyvers other necessaryes.

More, the quene's brydge almoste fynnysshed, and another brydge in her gardeyn in lyke man'.

Masons wrought by the day this forsaide tyme.

Item, fynnysshed and made twoo greate pyllers of Cane stone under *Seynt Thomas Tower*, as also serten harde stone sett round about the arche, and the fowndacion of the walles about the fludde gate under the sayde Tower, as the pulling downe of an olde wall, the which wall ys almost half fynnysshede.

More, half the *White Tower*, and more ys new embatelled, copyde, vented, and cressyde w^t Cane stone to th'amount of v. foote.

More, iiij. dores redy wrought for the dores of iiij. chambers, and the dore for the gallery goyng to the kyngs prevy clossett.

Moreov^r there ys wrought all the soyles and jawmes of twoo greate wyndowes.

Brycklayers wrought by the day this forsayde tyme.

Item, wrought by the forsayd bryckleyars all the walles and serten chymneys wⁱⁿ the forsayd lodgyngs to be made new redy unto the carpenters, as also fynnysshed and made the vents of brycks of the *White Tower*, rounde aboute wⁱⁿ little, as the crestyng and mendyng of the iiij. turrets upon the *White Tower*, as also the crestyng and mendyng iiij. other towers, that ys to sey, *Robyn the Devylls Tower*, *Julyus Seaser Tower*, and the tower next unto the kyngs wardrobe.

Plommers wrought by the daye and in taske during this tyme.

Item, the forsaide plommers hath taken downe all the olde leade of *Seynt Thomas Tower*, *Robyn the Devylls Tower*, *Julyus Seasers Tower*, the tower at the gallery ende, the iiij. turrets, and the leade which cov^ded my lady the kings grandmother chamber, as the leade of dyvers and sundry gutters, as the new castyng of the same, and redy cov^ded w^t p^{te} of the same leade, iiij. towers, the soyles of all the wyndowes in the kings gallery, as also the mending off sertayn gutters, and the cov^{yng} of the iiij. turrets upon the *White Tower*, being half fynnysshed.

Wrought by the joynors at sundry tymes as yt requyrede.

Item, taken downe by the sayd joyno^r the olde selynge of my lady the kings grandmother chamber, as dyvers pressys which Mr. Lieuten^{nt} has to ley his harneys in as portalls, as also the olde selynge of the kings dynyng chamber, which was olde and rotten, the which forsayd olde selyngs of the sayd my lady the kings grandmother ys p^{te} of y^t occupied and spent in the kings dining chamber.

More wrought by the said joyner's, lxxviij. monyalls of tymber in the kings gallery, and in the counsell chamber redy wrought, as also the mending of the rabetts of the wyndowes, and the wyndowes, the olde monyalls of them new stopped w^t tymber, the whiche were shronken and gapyd in the creste rounde aboute, and the forsayd the kyngs dyning chamber ys almost fynnysshed wrought by the yarde in taske.

Glasyers wrought as well by the day as by taske.

Item, the glasyers for the takying downe of the olde glasse in the gallery, the glasse of the kings dynyng chamber, the counsell chambers, one wⁱⁿ the gallery, th' other at the sowth ende of the gallery, the glasse of the kyngs bed chamber and prevy clossett moche of y^t broken, and to be skowerde and made clene when th'ousys ys mendyed and repayred.

More, the forsayd gallery, the wyndowes of the same new glassed, the counsell chamber, the same olde glasse new skowred and set up agayne, also th'other counsell chamber, the same glasse new skowred and set up.

Rough casters.

Item, the rough casters hathe harled the three partis of the *White Tower* and parte of *Julius Seaser Tower*, at th'ende of the kings gardeyn.

Plaisterers.

Item the plaisterers hathe p'gitted, the gallery wⁱⁿ and w^{oute}, and the counsell chamber wⁱⁿ the same gallery on bothe sydes allmoste fynnysshed.

Tylers.

Item, the tylers hathe new tyled the forseyd gallery on bothe sydes, as also taking downe all the olde tyles of the forsayd olde lodgyngs pulled downe byfore rehersyd, as the tylyng of ij hossys for the masons to worke in wⁱⁿ the same time.

Carpenters.

Item, in the tower, in the kyngs garden, next to the wardroppe of the robes, a roffe of tymber, and a bourd made complete, w^t a somer and joystes, w^t joll peces and platts p'teynyng to the same, and more made, ij. turrets w^t a roffe and a joystes to the same tower, one of the turrets w^t an awlter.

It'm, the second flower to the same tower new bourded.

It'm, the nether flower to the same tower new joysted and new borded.

It'm, made in the tower at the est end of the kyng's longe galary in the garden, a roffe made complete, w^t a cross somer and joystes to the same.

It'm, in the second flower, under the same roffe, new bourded.

It'm, in the nether flower, under the same, havyng iij new joysts and new bourded.

It'm, made iiij. types on the top of the *White Tower* w^t their ordenances aboute them, that is to sey, joyst peces and bolts to the top of them, and a flower levell w^t the platts joysted and borded.

It'm, more joynd to the same types trymers made rounde aboute for to defende the water of from the walles, and thus the carpentry work of the seid types beyng fynnysshed, was a chargeable pece of worke to doo.

It'm, made a payre of gates grated whiche hange next *Saynt Thomas Tower*, and a payer of sterres goyng downe to the water, from the same gate, and more in pyles dryven that the stayres standys upon.

It'm, in the kyngs great chamber laying in of platts, and joyll peces under the olde roffe, alle the length of the seid chamber, and more done by ij. men, the space of vj. dayes worke for stoppyng of the rysts in the roffe for colors laying, and more the seid roffe sett a shore unto such tyme, as the seid rofe was done and made, a halpas made before the chymney in the same chamber.

It'm, in the rounde tower at the northwest end of the kyngs gardeyn made a roffe to the same turrett, rownde w^t a rownde corbe, and joysted and borded upon the same.

It'm, made on the endes and sydes of the quene's great chambre, great gutters, beyng brydged and borded, and the coveryng of the great wyndowe.

It'm, a great gutter made alonge the one syde of the kyngs watchyng chamber.

It'm, a falce flower made over the kyngs closett, and over the chamber where his grace dothe make hym redy.

It'm, a flower made in kyng Henry the vijth counsell chambre w^t somers and joystes.

It'm, a flower made, and new joystes in the chambre some tyme called kyng Henry the vijth. bedchambre.

It'm, made new in the quene's dynyng chambre a great carrall wyndow stoundyng on the west syde, and lenyng places made new to the same, and a halpace under fote new made and new joysted and bourded.

It'm, made ij. new lenyng places in the wyndowes on the est syde of the same chambre.

It'm, laide over the carrall wyndow a great pece of tymber that berith

the roffe above hed, and joystes to the same to batton the roffe unto, and a halpas made before the chymney in the same chambre.

It'm, laide over a wyndow in the chambre next unto the quenes dynyng chambre iij. great planks that bereth the olde roffe, and a gutter made upon the same to convey the water.

It'm, made a new clere storey in the west ende of the greate chambre in the entry next to the closett agenst the seid chambre the bredeth of the house, w^t a penthous over the hed of it for y^e wether.

It'm, a particion made betwene the seid entre and chambre contaynyng the bredeth of the same chambre, w^t a clere storrey in the upper ende thorow, and a doore to the same.

It'm, a party wall sett up new in the same chambre at the est ende w^t a dore to the same to lay in fuell.

It'm, a lenyng peace made new in the same chambre wyndow, and more layde over the same wyndow, a great pece of tymber to bere the roffe.

It'm, in the inner chambre wⁱⁿ the seid great chambre a jaques w^t a new roffe made, joysted, and bourded, and a flower lykewise under that made to the same w^t a new dore and a new stole to the same jaques.

It'm, a lenyng borde laide in y^e same chambre wyndow.

It'm, sett in the same chambre betwene the gutter and the chambre xij. punchons.

It'm, in the kyngs closett a falce roffe made above hede to batton upon.

It'm, in the chambre where the kyng makes hym' redy a nother falce roffe made to batton upon in lyke case.

It'm, a halpas made in the kyngs bedchamber before y^e chymney.

It'm, a new dore made goyng into the kyngs watchyng chamber warde.

It'm, a new borde layde in the lenyng place of the baywyndow wⁱⁿ the same dore, and viij. punchons sett up over the same doore to enclose the gutter and the roffe.

It'm, made xxij. square steppes w^t ij. halpacs in the kyngs garden sett abowte the new bridge.

It'm, a new bridge made w^{out} the Tower next senit Kateryns whiche comes into the quenes garden w^t vi. postes enbowed and wrought w^t alle workemanship belongyng thereunto.

It'm, more for dryvyng of the pyles that the same bridge standeth on whiche was chargeable, and more for planks to the same, more sett up vi. faynes on the same bridge.

It'm, a p'ticion made w^t a great dore in y^e and a barre goyng downe into the kyngs cellar, and at the ende of the same p'ticion a wyndow made to geve light unto the same partes.

It'm, a nother particion made next to the same whiche is a litle chambre on the right hande w^t a dore therto.

It'm, for a nother chambre on the lefte hande, a frame of a dore made to be sett in a stone walle for a jaques, and a dore made to the same frame, and more, a stoole made to the same jaques ; these ij. chambres stondyng benethe in the lytell yarde next unto the kyngs cellar.

It'm, made in the kyngs cellar ij. square stayres, amounting viij. steppes.

It'm, peces of tymber that be layde over the hede of the iiij. wyndowes that were made in the kyngs cellar last.

It'm, dressyng bordes made rownde abowte the kyngys prevy kechyn.

It'm, gutters made on the baksyde of the howses of office, beyng vij. chambres next the great kechyn behynde the chymneys alle the length of the new frame, and so brydged and borded.

It'm, made iiij. p'ticions, otherwise called party wallys, under the seid vij. chambres to devyde the howses of office, and in ev'y p'ticion there a dore new made, and wⁱⁿ one of these p'ticions a stole made to a jaques.

It'm, a p'ticion made in the forebreste of the same jaques w^t a clere storey th'erin to geve light unto the same jaques.

It'm, a new dore made under the stayres goyng up to the seid howses of office.

It'm, planks new layde over the top of the wyndow whiche were made laste in the new wardrop'.

It'm, ij. new bay wyndowes made and sett in the lytell chamber under the galery goyng into the quenes garden.

It'm, made in the same chambre a new flower new joysted and borded w^t a jaques made unto the same chambre, and in the same a frame for a dore sett in the wall to shruc the same jaques, and a dore of boords made to s'Ve the same frame, and more made to the same jaques, a roffe josted and borded and a stole made to the same jaques, and more made over the hed of the same jaques upon the evys of the galery, ij. fylletory gutters to convey the water from the wallys.

It'm, a nother fylletory gutter made at the ende of the vij. houses of office goyng up the stayres to convey the water from the same stayres.

It'm, made frames under the arches where Gyllards wyne lyeth w^t iron bars in them, and in one of these frames a dore new made w^t ij. levys.

It'm, for platyng and shoryng of the wardrop next the kyngys garden where the robys do lye.

It'm, a wyndow made in the tower at the est ende of the quenes garden to sett in the stone werke.

It'm, a halpas made in the chambre called the counsell chambre next unto the kyngs galary.

It'm, a dore made new in one of the gabell endes above in the gutter.

It'm, a mans work ij. days for makyng of a sete w'in the Tower gate.

It'm, blocks cutt by the carpenters for leying into the walls to nayle the joyll peces unto.

It'm, for makyng of a frame for a bell in the *White Tower*, the whiche callith workemen to worke and fro worke.

It'm, a falce flower made in the chambre where kyng Henry the vijth lay in, for the battons to be framed unto over hed.

It'm, for ij. lyntons made for the ij. wyndowes in the same chamber the leying of them over hed.

It'm, for a dobell joyll peces made in the same chambre.

It'm, for a falce flower made in the chamber underneth the counsell chambre in the kyngs garden, and more in the same chamber joyll peces rownde aboute.

It'm, a dresser made in the kyngs prevy kechyn.

It'm, made a dore to the pantre broken out of the walle w' a new frame to the same dore, and more, v. steppys to the dore goyng into the same pantry.

It'm, for a bynne to the same pantry made of hole planks, and a wyndow w' a barre to the same pantry.

It'm, a larder hous under the houses of office w' alle the complement to the same larder, w' planks rownde by the walls and stancions w' pyns and hoks to hange the flesshe on, and more a new frame made in the wall w' a great doble dore.

It'm, made in the lordes kechyn, and in the olde kechyn iiij. racks, and iiij. postes to the same.

It'm, made vij. halpas one in the chambre underneth the counsell chambre in the kyngs garden, and iiij. in the olde lodgyngs of the quene syde, and one in the chamber that kyng Henry the vijth lay in, and ij. in the great chambre next to the prevy closett.

It'm, for ij. trymer peces made and sett up under the ij. wyndowes in the chambre in the kyngs garden goyng into the quenes garden, and more, a dore made for a p'ticion in the same chamb'.

It'm, a jaques made at the north ende of the quenes dynyng chambre w' the floweryng of y^e same hous to y^e same jaques.

It'm, for a great beme that was fett from Stratford bowe to set in the

White Tower, iiij. carpenters for fellyng and hewyng of the same pece ij. dayes.

It'm, iiij. formes and ij. cowbards made in haste at the kyngs last beyng at the Tower.

It'm, a dore made for a jaques under the great chambre next the prevy clossett.

It'm, a dore and a frame made in the tower where Gyllard lyeth in the garden.

It'm, a new fraime at *Saint Thomas Tower* g^t in length.

It'm, a longe galary w^t vij. chambres upon the north syde next to the great kechyn g^t in length cxvij. fote, and in bredeth xxj. fote.

It'm, a new frame now made a wardrobe for the kyng g^t in length cj. fote, and in bredeth xxiiij. fote.

It'm, a frame now appoynted for the quene great chamber g^t in lengthe lix. fote, and in bredeth xxvj. fote.

It'm, ij. frames appoynted for ij. chambres next to the kyngs closett w^t one litle entre one chambre in length, conteyning liij. fote, and in bredeth xvij. fote di. and the other chambre w^tin the same g^t in length xxij. fote, and in bredeth xvj. fote, and the litle entre g^t in length xxij. fote, and in bredeth xj. fote di.

It'm, for scaffoldes made out of the longe galary for the tylars and the playsterers, and for the paynters to worke upon rownde aboute the galary on both sydes, and abowte the cownseill chambre to the same galary.

It'm, for ij. litle frames made of bourdes for to close in the great faynes that cam from Elysyes the paynter for hurtyng of the gildyng to ev^y fayne one.

It'm, a flower made and redy framed for the rownde Tower on the *White Tower*, whiche is not yet sett up.

It'm, vij. saw pyttes made by the carpenters for the sawyers to sawe on.

Here ensuiethe an abstracte of the bryckelayers worke.

Bricklayers.

Firste, the hythenyng of the iiij. types on the *White Tower* w^t bryckeworke, every type a yarde hye.

It'm, more, the batilmentys to the *White Tower* w^t brycke for the masons to coppe upon, and more, the rowghcastyng of those types, and the same tower.

It'm, a litell howse made w^tin colharbarow goyng up into the vij. howses of office.

It'm, the walle that the frame of the seid vij. houses of office standeth on rayased a yarde hye w^t brycke, and the rowghcastyng of the same.

It'm, on the south syde of the same frame. vij. chymneys from the grownde up.

It'm, the underpynnyng of that frame rownde abowte w^t brycke, more for underpynnyng iij. p'ticions made in that frame.

It'm, for a jaques at the est ende of the same frame bothe for above and benethe w^t ij. stoles to the same jaques w^t brycke.

It'm, a nother jaques at the west ende of the same frame.

It'm, for ij. great dores sett underneth the same frame w^t brycke.

It'm, more in the larder underneth the same frame abowte betwene the joystes.

It'm, a new oven made in the howse next the great kechyn, beyng in bredeth x. foot.

It'm, in the lords kechyn and in the olde kechyn for rangys and harthys.

It'm, in the prevy kechyn a range w^t a new harthe, and more the pargetyng of the same kechyn.

It'm, the *Juell Howse* roughcast rownde abowte, and the makyng of bothe the sydes of the stayres goyng up to the *Jeyell Hous* w^t bryk.

It'm, the underpynnyng of the wardrobe that is new made.

It'm, in the same frame at the gabell ende on the northe syde, the bryngyng up w^t raggestone and brycke.

It'm, more for the corrants of the same frame alle the hole length.

It'm, the underpynnyng of the wardrop w^t robys.

It'm, in the quenes iij. olde chambres the p'getyng and the mendyng of iij. chymneys w^t their halpacys.

It'm, in the chamber next the quenes dynyng chambre j. halpas, and the mendyng of the chymney w^t brycke.

It'm, a new wyndow in the same chamber, and the p'getyng of the same wyndow.

It'm, in the quenes dynyng chambre alle new walles for the same for the frame to stande upon, w^t ij. gabells to the same frame, and a wyndow on the west syde of the same chamber from the foundation up to the batelments, and alle the west syde w^t batelments from the south ende to the north ende, and castyng of the same w^t in and w^t out.

It'm, in the kyngs watchyng chambre the mendyng of the chymney.

It'm, in the kyngs dynyng chambre the est syde w^t alle the wyndowes and alle the syde of the same chambre w^t brycke and ragge stone w^t batelments alonge the same syde.

It'm, in the great chambre next the closet w^t in the foundation owt of the

grownde for the hole frame w^t the entrey w^t a jaques new made j. above and a nother benethe w^t brycke, ragestone, and chalk.

It'm, in the same lodgyng, a gabell ende in kyngs frame.

It'm, in the *Rownde Tower* where the kyngs lodgyngs is, in the cownseill chamber, there j. new flower raysed, j. yarde hye w^t brycke and raggestone, and roughcastyng of the same tower w^t mortar rownde abowte on the owte-syde and wⁱⁿ.

It'm, in the chambre new made under the cownsell chambre in the kynges garden, one chymney above and a nother benethe w^t ij. shaftes to them, w^t a jaques to the same chambre, w^t ij. halpas and a valte that bereth the same chambre w^t brycke to the ij. bay wyndowes, and rought castyng of the same galary on both sydes north and south.

It'm, in *Julyus Sesar Tower* at the est ende of the galary, new cast and wⁱⁿ for makyng the fowndacion of the new flower above, and a wyndow to the same chambre.

It'm, in the tower north to the same tower next unto yt, the mendyng of a chymney, and raysyng w^t brycke unto a new frame, and the rough castyng of the same tower.

It'm, in the kings garden, the new brydge.

Item, the tower northe to the quenes lodgyng new rought cast, and the batelment w^t brycke, rage stone, and chalke.

It'm, in the payehous, the mendyng of the chymney.

It'm, in *Robyn the Devillys Tower*, the hythenyng of the flower w^t brycke, ragstone, and chalke.

It'm, for iiij. jaques, the new brychyng of them.

Tyling.

Item, the tylyng of the longe galary.

It'm, kyngys frame and Hawlys frame, w^t the entrey new tyled.

It'm, Sheres frame new tyled.

It'm, Walkers frame new tyled.

It'm, the tylyng of iiij. lodgys for the fremasons and for the bryckehewers.

It'm, the tylyng of the howse for the playsterers in the mynte.

Lyme.

It'm, the lyme amowntyng to these workes by estymacion xxvm^l. besydes the sonde to the same worke.

It'm, there is more to fynyshe x. shaftes upon x. chymneys, to the whiche there is stuffe to fulfill the makyng, as w^t lyme, sonde, and brycke, savyng the hewyng.

Here ensuithe an abstracte of the playsterers worke.

Playsterers.

Firste, in the longe galary, the whytyng of the same galary wⁱⁿ and w^{out}, w^t the fylling of alle the holys where the scaffold tymber wente thorow, and iij. paynes broken for the workemen to goo and to come thorow, w^t the whytyng betwene the battons wⁱⁿ the same galary, and stoppyng of the creves betwene the battons and the playster, and more the fylling of alle the hole walle betwene the tymber and the walle.

It'm, in the kyngs prevy chambre next the water syde, firste the whytyng betwene the batons w^t whytyng of alle the wyndowes to the same chambre.

It'm, in the entrey est the same chambre, the betyng downe the olde playster, and makyng it new ageyne, w^t the whytyng the same w^t syse, and a nother entrey, west and northe the same chambre, the mending and whytyng the same chamber w^t syse, w^t the wyndowes, and more the chambre where the kyng makith hym redy, w^t the closett unto the same, new fylling the rovys betwene the battons.

It'm, in ij. chambres next the prevy closett, the seelyng of them bothe, w^t ij. entrys anexed unto the same chambers, w^t the whytyng unto the same, w^t ij. chambres undernethe new rovyd, and the watchyng chambre mending in dyvers places, and alle new whyted.

It'm, in Sherys frame, called the howses of office, vij. new chambres the playsteryng w^t lyme and here, and the seelyng alle vij. chambres, w^t ij. jaques to the same chambres.

It'm, the seelyng of the lordes kechyn, the rooffe new seeled.

It'm, in the kyngys prevy kechyn a rooffe new made for the same.

It'm, the iiij. types on the *White Tower*, the playsteryng undernethe the batelmentys.

It'm, the wardrope, clossyng w^t lyme and here, both wⁱⁿ and w^{out}:

It'm, iiij. gabell endes playstered, the one in kyngs frame, ij. in the new wardrop, and the other in M^r. Novres chamber.

It'm, the chamber where kyng Henry the vijth lay in, the rooffe new playstered w^t whytyng betwene the battons.

It'm, in the kynges dynyng chambre, the stoppyng of alle the crevys in that chamber w^t seelyng and whytyng of all the wyndowes.

It'm, in the cownseill chamber in the rownde tower, the whytyng betwene the battons w^t stoppyng betwene the joysts.

It'm, in the quenes dynyng chambre, new roofed w^t whytyng betwene the battons and seelyng the wyndowes.

It'm, for iiij. chambres northe the quenes dynyng chamber, seeled w^t lyme and heere, and amending in some places w^t playster.

It'm, in the chamber in the kynges garden goyng into the quenes garden, new roffyd w^t playster, and a partycion theryn seeled w^t lyme and here.

Here ensuithe an abstracte of the plomar's worke.

Plomars.

Firste, the takyng downe of the iiij. types upon the great *White Tower*, and castyng and chasyng of the same iiij. types.

It'm, ij. cesterns on the *White Towar*, west syde.

It'm, in the new wardrope, the takyng up and the laying of the rooffe ageyne.

It'm, for coveryng of the hedys of iiij. turrets, the wyndelesses, that is to sey, in *Bowyers Tower*, and *Burbegge Tower* next unto it, and j. small roffe unto *Bowyers Tower*.

It'm, the tower at the northe este ende of the kyngs garden, the takyng up the same roffe, and the new laying of it ageyne, and for ij. pypes, w^t ij. cesterns.

It'm, the tower at the galary ende est, the takyng up, and the new laying of the same tower, and for one lenkith of pypes w^t a sestern to that tower.

It'm, in the *Cradell Tower* wⁱⁿ the quenes garden, the takyng up of j. lefe of lede, and the laying of the new leede.

It'm, for makyng of ij. new pypes on the rownde tower of the counseill chambre.

It'm, j. sestern, w^t a length of pypes to the same tower west, comyng downe into the lawnders garden.

It'm, a shorte pype w^t a sestern comyng of a vyce on the same tower.

It'm, the takyng up of the rofe over the kynges closett, and the new laying agayne, and more, the makyng of a sestern w^t a lengithe of pypes to the same rooffe.

It'm, in walkers frame for castyng and new laying j. longe gutter on the est syde of the same frame.

It'm, for makyng of iiij. sesterns w^t iiij. lengthes of pypes on the est syde to the kyngs garden, and for sowlyng of iiij. wyndowes on the same syde.

Item, a gutter new made in walkers frame south, and a nother west w^t coveryng a great bay wyndow on the same frame west, and more for

makyng of a sestern of lede, w^t a length of pypes unto the same wyndow, and sowlyng the same wyndow.

It'm, the coveryng of a vyce on the tower at the est ende of the quenys lodgyng north, and j. pype w^t a sestorn to y^e same tower.

It'm, on halle and kyngs frame, for laying of iij. new gutters north est and west, and a sestorn w^t a lengthe of pypes comyng of the same frame, and sowlyng of iij. bay wyndowes w^t ij. clere storys.

It'm, for coveryng of ij. new wyndowes and sowlyng the same in the chamber undernethe the cownsell chamber in the kyngs garden, and laying ij. new gutters behynde the ij. chymneys on the same cownsell chambre, and for coveryng of a jaques to the same chambre.

It'm, in Sherys new frame for laying of a gutter on the south syde w^t a walle pece, and makyng a length of pypes unto the same gutter, and coveryng and sowlyng of ij. wyndowes on the same syde; and more, laying a short gutter and a wall pece and sowlyng of j. wyndow on the north syde the same frame.

It'm, in *Seynt Thomas Tower*, the takyng up the olde lede and the new laying of it agayne and coveryng of the raylles and the sowll peces to the same frame, w^t the coveryng iij. wyndowes and sowlyng the same, and more makyng iij. pypes, w^t iij. sestorns on the south syde the same frame.

It'm, for the new coveryng of *Robyn the Devylls Tower* and the turret of the same.

Here ensuithe an abstracte of the freemasons worke.

Freemasons.

Firste, in the watergate on eyther syde the longe arche, ij. pyllers to strenken the arche w^t, at bothe endes in compas bowte eyther of the pyllers, xvij. foot a pece, and in heyght xij. foot, and not yete alle fynnysshed.

It'm, the walle new made on the west syde of the watergate w^t harde asheler of Kent in stone, cxl. fote, and more from the west ende unto the boteras next the bridge, in length xx. fote, and in harde asheler of Kent, cx. fote, and more, the walle south and est the grate unto the pyllar in hard asheler of Kent, iij. c. fote, and more upon the longe arche new repayred for the frame to be sett upou w^t asheler of Cane to the so^me of lx. fote, and a bottres made w^t harde asheler of Kent, l. foot, and in Cane asheler a skew vj. foot, the same botres in heyght xv. fote, and a new walle northe the same walle in ragge ij. tonne, and the foundation w^t harde stone

of Kente, vij. fote hye, and in length xlvij. fote, and in hayth x. fote, and in the same walle, iij. loppys made w^t Cane asheler ij. fote brode, and in heygth iiij. foot, and the compas of the same walle w^t Cane a skew, and crestyd, beyng cxliij. fote Cane stone.

It'm, a stayre wⁱⁿ Colharbarow goyng up to the vij. new chambres, whereas the howses of office be under, made w^t harde asheler of Kent, xvj. steppys, and ev'y steppe iij. fote, di. sum in the hole iiij^m. fote, and more for copying of the walle goyng w^t the same steres, the crest xvj. fote, and more for the setting of vij. new parells in vij. chymneys of the foreseid chambres of Rygate stone, ev'y parell' v. fote in wydnes.

It'm, in the hye whyte tower the cowpyng of xlvij. coppys on the west syde, and so the south syde the spaces betwene in length vj. foot the left, and some vij. fote, and in heyght vj. fote, and in the est syde the spaces betwene some vij. fote, and some vij. fote di. ev'y space xxij. fote, quynys of Cane asheler on the west syde and on the southsyde liij. fote quynys Cane asshelar, and on the est syde the same tower, lx. fote quynys Cane asheler, and on the north syde the same tower, xl. fote quynys in Cane asheler, and more in skew and crests to the same spacys on the west syde amountith unto ciij. that is to sey, in ev'y space xxx. foote in skew and crest, and in ev'y iij. fote in heyght of quynys, and more on the south syde in skew and crest, iiij. cxv. fote, and on the est syde in skew and crest, iiij. clx. fote, and on the northe syde there is done v. spaces, havyn in skew and crest jclxx. fote, the west syde and the south syde w^t the est syde be all fynysshed, and the northe syde not alle fynyshed, lackyng iij. spaces for the same syde, the stuffe is wrought save the setting.

It'm, at the *Juell Hows* doore, iij. spaces covered w^t skew and crest, amontyng xxxvj. fote of stone.

It'm, in the new wardrope, a great dore made w^t Cane stone, in wydnes iiij. fote, in heyght vij. fote, and the insyde of the same dore wrought w^t Rygate stone, the Cane stone amountith unto xl. fote, and Rygate to the same xxx. fote, and a great wyndow made w^t Cane stone of iiij. lightes, contaynyng in wydnes ix. fote, and height vj. fote, the stone unto the same wyndow amounteth unto iiij^m. x. fote in stonehys of Rygate stone unto the same wyndow, amontyng to xvj. fote, and v. spaces, ij. fynysshed and iij. unfynysshed.

It'm, the tower on the north est of the quenes lodgyng, a vyce new made, the corbell table w^t new stone alle upward, in height iiij. fote di, and abowte xxxiiij. fote, so is ther in the same in Cane stone, j^c. xxx. fote, and more for the quynys, and the crest of the same tower amountith in Cane stone j^c. iij. fote.

It'm, the walle on the quenes lodgyng unto the longe galary on the est

syde, havyng in spaces xxvij, and ev'y space crested betwene the stone, amountyng unto the same walle in Cane stone ij. clxv. fote.

It'm, in the kyngs dynyng chambre, iij. wyndowes, ij. of them w' iij. lyghtes new made, from the transam upward in heyght vj. fote, and in bredethe ij. wyndowes iij. fote di. and the myddell wyndow vij. fote, the stone amoun-tith in the same wyndowes unto cx. fote, and the chymney new parreled xij. fote wyde.

It'm, the ij. wyndowes on the syde undernethe the watche chamber to geve light unto the seller, beyng in hayght iij. fote, and in brede xij. ynches, of Cane stone, xx. fote.

It'm, more in the same celler, an arche made of Rygate stone, in viij. payns, and iij. fote over, and more in the same celler, iij. basses to bere the pryncipall pece of the celler, made w' Cane stone, amountyng to xij. fote.

It'm, the batelment, over the kyngs prevy chambre, vij. fote crest, and the new setting of the olde crestes over the same chamber, v. of them.

It'm, for clensyng and makyng clene of ij. wyndowes in the cownseill chambre in the same *Rownde Tower*, and more for v. fote of border in the same cownsell chamber in a chymney, and more for the mendyng of a doore comyng of the same chamber into the ledys w' a sholder amountyng in stone vj. fote.

It'm, in the chamber where kyng Henry the vij. lay, ij. wyndowes, j. w' ij. lyghtes, and a nother w' iij. lightes, the one vj. fote in brede and vj. fote in heyght, and the other iij. fote in bredeth, and vj. fote in heyght, the Cane-stone amowntyng unto bothe the wyndowes iij. v. fote, and a new border for the chymney in the same chamber, v. fote in length.

It'm, in the chamber where the kyng maketh hym redy, a new wyndow w' ij. lyghtes, iij. fote in wydnes, and in hayght ix. fote, in Cane stone to the same lxxv. fote, and more the cuttyng of iij. carbells to make them lyke to the joyll peces in the same chambre.

It'm, in the closset, ij. wyndowes, the one xx. ynches wyde, and iij. fote hye w' one lyght, and the other w' iij. lyghtes, vj. fote wyde and ix. fote hye, the stone to bothe wyndowes amountyng to iij. cxxvj. fote, and more in that chambre, a great dore of Rygat stone iij. fote, ix. ynches wyde, and in hayght vij. fote, the stone to that dore iij. iij. fote; and more, another dore made in the entry goyng in to the great chamber next the closett, of the wydnes and the same heyght that the other dore is of, in stone therto xlv. fote, and a steppe made unto the same dore, amountyng in harde stone iij. fote and ix. ynches.

It'm, in the great chamber next the closett, a new parrell of vj. fote wyde, and a nother in the inner chambre of v. fote wyde, and a new dore made in the same chamber of Rygat stone in brede, ij. fote di. and in hayght vj. fote,

and the stone amountyng unto that dore xxxiiij. fote, and one steppe to the same dore in harde stone of Kent iij. fote.

It'm, in the chamber undernethe the inner chamber next the prevy closet in a chymney iiij. fote of new border w^t the setting up of the same mantell; and more in the same chambre, a new dore made of Rygat stone, ij. fote di. wyde, and vj. fote hye, in stone to the same dore, xxij. fote, and a steppe to the same dore of harde stone iij. fote, and more a nother dore in the same yarde of the same length, and the same bredeth, in Rygate stone therto xxij. fote, and a steppe of harde stone of Kent to that dore, in stone iij. fote.

It'm, in the kynges prevy kechen, the pavyng of the flower w^t harde assheler of Kent, the stone amountyng to the same v^r. xlv. fote.

It'm, in payhous, a new parell for a chymney v. fote wyde.

It'm, v. steppys laying new goyng out of the up to the cownsell chamber in the vyce.

It'm, in the quene's dynyng chambre, j. parell for the chymney contaynyng vij. fote, in wydnes, and iij. steppys in the same chamber, goyng out north the same chamber contaynyng x. fote.

It'm the ij. chambres, north the quenes lodgyng, ij. borders in ij. chymneys, the one border vj. foote, and the other border v. fote di.

It'm in the kyngs garden the copyng of the new brydge over the brycke, amountyng in Cane stone iiij^{xx}. ij. fote; and more goyng into the quenys garden, a gate of viij. fote wyde, and xj. fote hye, the stone amowntyng unto c. fote, and more for a wyndow of ij. lights in the chamber undernethe the cownsell chamber g^t xvj. fote in Cane stone, and more in the same chamber one parell for the chymney contaynyng v. fote.

It'm, in the tower at the est ende of the longe galary new sett and pownted, and new stone redy hewne to fynyshe it, the new stone amowntyng unto xxx fote.

It'm, in the tower where Gyllard lyeth, viij fote of border for the chymney in Rygat stone.

Here ensuithe an abstracte of alle the joyners worke.

Joiners.

Firste, a new worke wrought in the kynges dynyng chambre, a mantell of waynscot wrought w^t antyk sett over the chymney there.

It'm, in the same chambre, the playn selyng of the est syde therof w^t new waynscot, contaynyng in depeth xv. fote, and in length lvj. fote.

It'm, the selyng under alle the wyndowes, in that chambre, g^t in heyght iiij. fote di, and in length xxij. fote.

It'm, in the kynges closett an awlter wrought rownde abowte the hedgys w' antyk, and a cofer w' tylls therto for the preste to say masse on.

It'm, in the same closett, the empanellyng of y' w' new waynscot on the est syde, and on the south syde contaynyng in depeth xiiij. fote, and in length xxxvj. fote, and the dore there to is doble wrought on bothe sydes a lyke.

It'm made for the hed of the portall in the kynges bedchamber, a crest of waynscot wrought w' antyk, and not yet sett up.

It'm, in the quenes great chambre, the selyng of a crest of new waynscot betwene bothe the jowe peces g' in heyght iij. fote and ij. ynches, and in length, rownde abowte the same xxxviij. yardes.

It'm, in the same chamber, x. panell bordys g' every panell borde in heyght j. yarde ij. inches, and in bredeth di. a yarde for to shytt close the neyther lyghtes of the wyndowes, east syde, next to the garden, made of new waynscot, being v. yardes square i. fote viij. ynches.

It'm, foure panell bordys for j. wyndow, next chamber to the same of new waynscot, beyng ij. yardes viij. inches.

It'm, in the great galery, the selyng of xj. wyndowes rownde abowte over hed, and the lenyng places of the same, and also iij. wyndowes in the cownsell chamber w'in the same galery on the northe syde.

It'm, in kyng Henry the vijth bedchamber, the makyng of iij. leves for ij. wyndowes, reveted w' clenche nayles, g' in heygth ev'y wyndow vj. fote, and in brede iij. fote.

It'm, in the same chambre, the makyng of iij. demy portalls, parte of the selyng of y' of new waynscot, that is to sey, iij. close dores, g' in every portall, w' the playn selyng over the hed of the same, dores xv. fote hye.

It'm, in a lytle entre next to the closet, for the selyng of a creste of bothe endes betwene the jowe peces, g' in heyght j. yarde, and in length, at both endes, vj. yardes.

It'm, in the great chambre, next unto the prevy closet, the selyng of a crest of new waynscot betwene the jowe peces, g' in heyght di. a yarde, and in length xxiiij. yardes.

It'm, w'in the same chamber, a portall w' panells of drapery worke, w' ij. dores, w' a crest of antyk upon the hed, and ij. splandrellys for the caryng of the dore.

It'm, in a nother chamber, w'in the same, the selyng of a crest of new waynscot betwene the jowe peces q' in heyght, di. a yarde, and in length xxvj. yardes.

It'm, in the kynges closet, betwene the jow peces the new selyng of a creste q' in heyght di. a yarde, and in length xxiiij. yardes di.

It'm, the makyng of v. new dores of waynscot, iiij. of them of iij. fote brode, and in length vj. fote ij. ynches, and the vth. dore g^t in bredeth iiij. fote, iiij. ynches, and in length vij. fote v. ynches.

It'm, in the kyngs closet, the makyng of a deske for his grace to knelle upon.

It'm, in the kyngs dynyng chamber, a brace imbowed and carved.

It'm, the lenyng spaces of ij. wyndowes in the kyngs prevy chambre made of new waynscot, and j. lenyng place in a wyndow in the entrey goyng to his w^ddrawyng chamber.

It'm, in the seid chamber, the mendyng of the leyves of the wyndowes sett on w^t doble jymewes vj. leyves of them new made and dressyd.

It'm, the takyng downe of the olde selynges and shelves in the kynges prevy chambre that now is made, before kyng Henry the vij. library, and the leying of quarters in the wallys, and also the takyng downe the olde selyng of the seid kyng Henry the vijth. bedchamber, and the w^ddrawyng chamber.

It'm, the selyng of cxxv. yards of olde selyng sett up in the kyngs dynyng chambre, but planed.

It'm, the selyng of kyng Henry the vijth. bedchamber of li. yardes olde selyng, and more in the kyngs prevy chambre in olde selyng lxxvij. yardes.

It'm, in the chamber where he maketh hym redy in olde selyng xx. yardes, and the leying in of new quarters in the walles of the same chambres to fasten the selyng to."

*" A Perticular of the names of the Towers and Prison Lodgings in his Majesty's Tower of London, taken out of a paper of Mr. William Franklyn, sometyme Yeoman-Warder, dat. 16th March, 1641, as followeth, viz.**

White Tower.—The White Tower, or Cæsar's Tower, belonging to the office of the Ordnance.

Martin Tower.—Martin Tower without the Byward Gate, belonging to the porter of the Mynt.

Ro. Tower.—The Byward or Round Tower, over the Byward Gate, al wardⁿ lodgings.

Watergate Tower.—Watergate Tower, ov^r the Watergate, warders lodgings formerly belonging to the kings fletcher.

* Harleian MSS. No. 1326, obligingly communicated by Henry Ellis, Esq.

Cradle Tower.—A prison lodging in the low gardens, where the draw-bridge was in former tymes.

Well Tower.—A prison lodging in the corner of the low gardens, next towards Iron Gate, and the Tower-gate leading to Iron Gate, a warder's lodging.

Iron Gate Tower.—An old ruynous place towards St. Katherins.

Salt Tower.—At the end of the long gallery, a prison lodgeing.

Broad Arrow Tower, upon the wall by the king's garden, a prison lodgeing.

Constable Tower, betwixt capt. Coningsby and Mr. Marsh, a prison lodging.

Martin Tower, over against the green Mount, near Mr. Sherburn's house, a prison lodging.

Brick Tower.—By the armory ; the Mr. of the Ord'nce lodging.

Two *London Towers*, behinde the Ord'nce office.

Office of the *Ord'nce Tower*, by the chapell.

Beachamp Tower, or *Cobham Tower*, betwixt the chapel and the lth lodging, a prison lodgeing.

Bell Tower.—Adjoyning to the lth house, a prison lodgeing.

Wakefeld Tower, or *Bluddy Tower*.—Against the Watergate, a prison lodgeing.

Artillery Tower, or *Recorde Tower*.—Adjoyning to the Bluddy Tower.

Nunn's Bower.—The prisons over Coleharbur Gate.

Lanthorne Tower.—Parte of the kings lodgings, vnder w^{ch} is a prisoners lodgeing, wth a dore next to the lowe gardens."

THE END OF THE APPENDIX TO PART I.

PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION,
AND
WILL APPEAR EARLY IN THE ENSUING SEASON,
THE SECOND AND CONCLUDING PART
OF THE
History and Antiquities
OF
THE TOWER OF LONDON.

ALSO,
BY THE SAME AUTHOR,
IN ONE VOLUME QUARTO,
ILLUSTRATIONS OF BRITISH HISTORY,
FROM
THE ACCESSION OF KING HENRY VI. TO THE DEATH OF RICHARD III.

This work, which is designed to elucidate the history of England during the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, will consist of royal and other letters and papers, and will be embellished with a variety of copper-plates and wood-cuts, executed by artists of the first eminence. Only 250 copies of this work will be printed, and all the plates and blocks will be destroyed previous to publication.

TO
HIS MOST SACRED MAJESTY,
KING GEORGE THE FOURTH,
THIS ACCOUNT
OF
THE ANCIENT PALACE AND FORTRESS
OF
The Tower of London,
IS,
WITH HIS MAJESTY'S GRACIOUS PERMISSION,
VERY HUMBLY DEDICATED,
BY
HIS MAJESTY'S
MOST LOYAL SUBJECT,
AND DEVOTED SERVANT,
JOHN BAYLEY.

b

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST PART.

IN an age in which a taste for local history so generally prevails, it has been regarded as a matter of surprise that a place of such real interest and importance as the Tower, should not have had its share of illustration. It is well known that nothing has hitherto been written on this subject, beyond the few and confused remarks made upon it by Stow, and other commentators on the history of London; and this circumstance, added to some advantages which presented themselves for the undertaking, may be said to have given birth to the present publication; but how far it will be calculated to supply this desideratum in our topography; to meet the expectations, or, to gratify the wishes of the publick, is not for me to decide: it goes before the world with no pretensions to praise, and with no confidence but that which may be placed on the candor of those into whose hands it shall happen to fall, and on its graphic illustrations. These are executed with scrupulous fidelity, and I rely on their being interesting to the present, and valuable to future ages.

The work, of which the first part is now laid before the public,

was begun some considerable time ago ; but, about the middle of the year 1819, when a large portion of it had gone through the press, it was consumed by fire, together with the manuscript,* in the printing-offices of Messrs. Bensley ; and since that occurrence, other studies and pursuits have prevented its renewal, and, consequently, its earlier appearance before the publick.

In the present portion of this attempt it has been my object to give, in a compressed chronological form,—first, what I considered to belong to the general history of the Tower as a palace and fortress ; and, secondly, a description of all its material buildings ; intending that the remainder of the work shall contain,—an account of it as a state-prison, with biographical notices of the most distinguished personages that have been confined there ;—memoirs of its constables from the earliest periods ;—an enquiry into the duties and privileges of the constable, lieutenant, and other officers of the fortress,—and an account of the ancient customs, jurisdictions, and privileges attached to the Tower and its liberty ; with an appendix, containing letters of celebrated prisoners, and other documents and illustrations.

This arrangement may, perhaps, at first appear objectionable, on the ground that the particular account which is intended to be given of distinguished prisoners, and the notices of the constables, are not combined with the general history : when, however, it is considered that the mode which I have adopted will afford greater scope for biographical anecdote, and that it will be the means of producing a clearer and more perfect account of the whole, I feel

* Of such part of the work as was printed off, the manuscript had, unfortunately, been destroyed, and, with the exception of a few proof sheets of the local description, nothing was preserved.

persuaded that the advantages, promised by this division of subjects, will preponderate.

In accomplishing this part of the work, I feel gratified in having to acknowledge the favors of several friends, whose names stand too high to require my tribute of praise. From the late Samuel Lysons, esq., in the original execution of my design, I had the benefit of that cordial and friendly advice and encouragement, which now renders his loss the more severely felt: from Henry Ellis and John Caley, esquires, I have constantly experienced that attention and readiness to serve which so peculiarly distinguish their characters: to the former gentleman, for several obliging communications from the British Museum, I am greatly indebted; and to the latter, for the full advantage of the records under his care in the Chapter-house, as well as other friendly offices, I am impressed with a sense of lasting obligation: to the zeal and experience of Henry Petrie, esq. I am highly indebted, not only for his valuable assistance in describing the interesting architecture of the White Tower,* but for other acts of kindness tending to the promotion of the work: to William Bray, esq. my sincere acknowledgments are due, for the kind manner in which he has favored me with several interesting papers, of which I shall hereafter avail myself; and also to William Illingworth, esq. I have to express myself grateful, for the loan of some rare books, and other obligations.

No work has ever yet been wholly free from errors and defects, and it is more than probable that many will be discovered in this; but, whilst I solicit candid correction, I might offer excuses for

* I have, also, in this respect, great pleasure in acknowledging much valuable assistance, derived from the architectural knowledge of Mr. Blore.

them ; were I not sensible that " the world is little solicitous to know whence proceeded the faults of that which it condemns : " and I therefore dismiss this part of my task, claiming for it that indulgence which is due to every writer who has been guided by truth, or whose object has been to elucidate however small a portion of the topography of his country.

JOHN BAYLEY.

*His Majesty's Record Office, Tower,
May 29th, 1821.*

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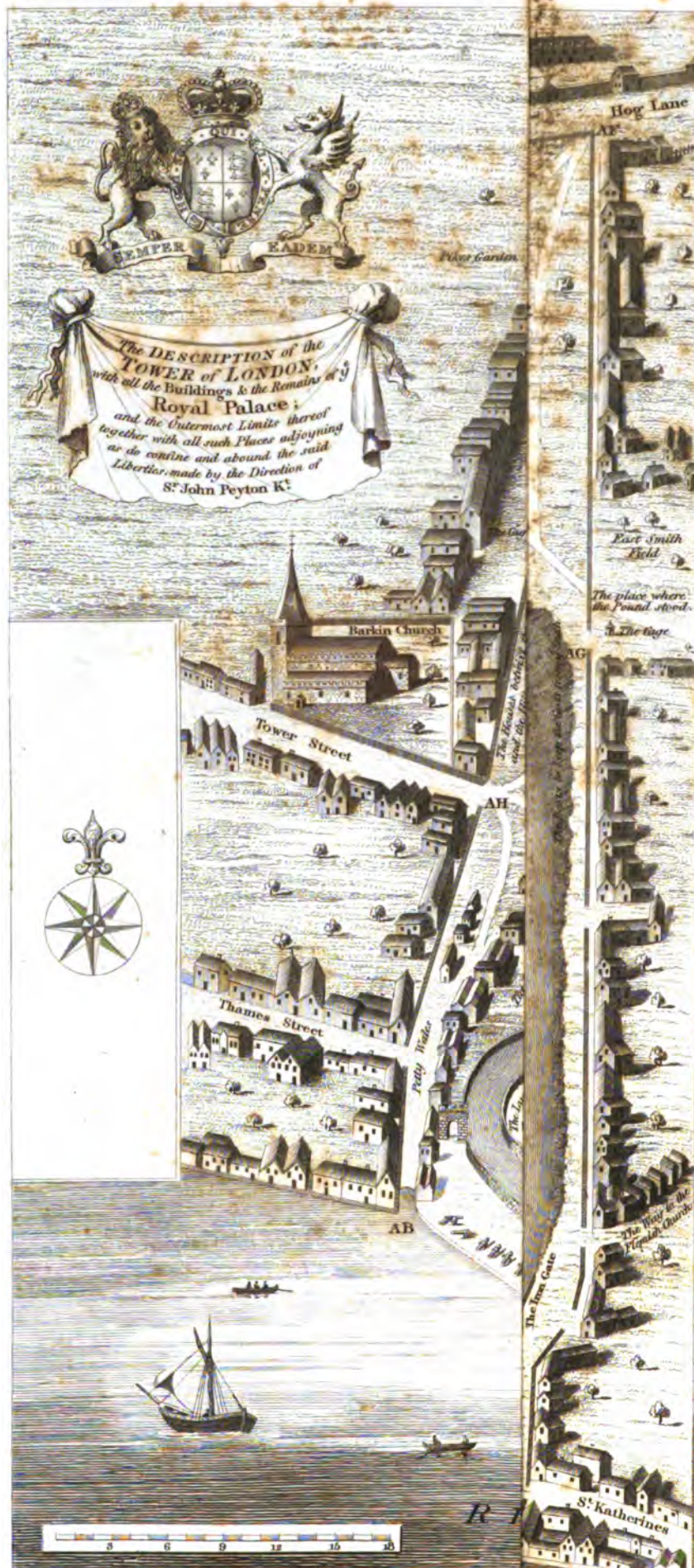
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* It will be seen that a mistake has been made in the numbering of these plates.

† These plates are unavoidably postponed till the publication of the Second Part.

ERRATA.

- Page 24, note, for Rot. Clans. 10 Edw. I. m. 5. read Rot. Liberat. 10 Edw. I. m. 5.
— 168, for SPERN DO MI GODERO, read SPERANDO MI GODERO.
— 184, note ¹, for m. 82, read m. 52.
— 203, in the last line but two, *after* whole read world.
— 258, line 13, for the Rev. Daniel Lysons, read the Rev. Samuel Lysons.
— 261, (fifth line from the bottom,) for render, read renders.
— iv. (Appendix) for Pro Rectore et Capellanos, read Pro Rectore et Capellanis.



A Note
of the Boundaries
of the Liberties of the Tower
as appears in the Lect.
Anno 27 Hen. VIII.

The Liberties of the TOWER
beginning at the Water Gate next
the Ram's Head in Petty Water doth
extend straight North to the end of
Tower Street, and direct North to
the Mud Wall call'd Pike's Garden on this
side the Overlooked Fryers & so straight
East to the Wall of London with 9 Nine
gardens above the Portern and the Broken
Tower right unto the midst of Hog
Lane, and so straight broad South
to the Stone Corner, and so on
to the Thames, and according to the
former. Butting a green line is drawn
about the said Liberties.

The Several Towers.

- A. The Middle Tower.
- B. The Tower at the Gate.
- C. The Bell Tower.
- D. Beauchamp Tower.
- E. Develin Tower.
- F. Flint Tower.
- G. Bowyer Tower.
- H. Brick Tower.
- I. Martin Tower.
- K. Constable Tower.
- L. Broad Arrow Tower.
- M. Salt Tower.
- N. Well Tower.
- O. The Tower leading to the
Iron Gate.
- P. The Tower above the Iron Gate.
- Q. The Gradle Tower.
- R. The Lanthorn Tower.
- S. The Hall Tower.
- T. The Bloody Tower.
- V. S^t Thomas's Tower.
- W. Ouse's or White Tower.
- X. Cole Harbour.
- Y. Wandraby Tower.

Boundaries of the Liberties.

- AB. The House at the Water Gate, call'd the Ram's Head.
- AC. The Place where the Mud Wall was call'd Pike's Garden.
- AD. The Old Wall at the N.E. of the Nine Gardens.
- AE. The Place where the Broken Tower was.
- AF. Hog Lane End.
- AG. The House call'd the Stone corner House.
- AH. The End of Tower Street.
- AI. The Stairs without the East End of the
Tower.

Engraved by H. Moll

THE TOWER OF LONDON.

SECTION I.

Foundation and General History.



HIS celebrated monument of antiquity stands on the bank of the river Thames, at the eastern extremity of the city of London, and occupies the brow of that noted eminence called Tower-Hill; the spot on which so many distinguished persons have fallen by the axe of the executioner. It seems probable, from its situation, that the Tower was originally designed rather to defend the maritime approach to the capital, than for the purposes to which it became appropriated in after-ages. Considered in the present day, as a place of strength, there can be attached to it but little importance: but when viewed as the scene of many of the most important events in our history; regarded as one of the ancient palaces of our sovereigns, or contemplated in its character as a state prison, it excites, as a building, a degree of unrivalled interest.*

It has been a common opinion that the Tower owes its foundation to the Romans, or at least, that its site was once occupied by a fortification, whose origin is attributed to that brave and enterprising people; and this idea, though unsupported by historical evidence, or by any local discovery of a satisfactory nature, has been confidently adopted by men of rank and of literary reputation. The

* For a more particular description of the Tower, see Section II.

authority, however, of many of our early writers on subjects of antiquity, must not be received without careful examination; for they appear too frequently to have indulged in hypothetical calculations, instead of being guided solely by plain and unalterable matters of fact: their zeal was not sufficiently tempered by experience, or their ardor was too great to admit of that cool and patient investigation, which will allow no favorite notion to implant itself, unless founded on a basis that cannot be overturned by future inquiry.

Dr. Stukeley, in his account of Stonehenge,^a tells us that *the Tower of London was erected about the time of Constantine the Great*; and in his Itinerary there is a plan of the city, as it is supposed to have existed in the time of the Romans, in which a considerable fort is represented as standing on the site of the present citadel.^b Other writers^c also favor the opinion, that a fortress was constructed here before the extinction of the imperial sway in Britain; and, in 1778, Dr. Milles, dean of Exeter, and president of the Society of Antiquaries, in describing to that learned body some antiquities which were found within the walls of the Tower in the latter part of the preceding year, stated, that *the Tower of London was undoubtedly the capital fortress of the Romans; it was their treasury as well as their mint: in that place therefore was deposited whatever was necessary for the support of their establishment, and the payment of their troops!*^d

The discovery whereon the learned president grounded this bold hypothesis, was made on the south side of the White Tower, in preparing to lay foundations for a new office of Ordnance: where, "having sunk to a great depth, and broken through foundations of ancient buildings," the workmen found, in the natural soil, a silver ingot, three gold coins, and some other antiquities. The ingot was a piece of silver, in the form of a double wedge, four inches long, two inches and three quarters broad, in the broadest part, and one inch and three quarters, in the narrowest. In the middle it was one inch thick, and weighed eleven ounces, seven pennyweights, and six

^a See Archæologia, vol. iv. p. 96. note.

^b See Stukeley's Itinerary, edit. 1776.

^c See Pennant's and other Accounts of London; Leland's Itinerary, vol. viii. p. 32. edit. Hernei, &c.

^d Archæologia, vol. v. p. 295.

grains avoirdupois.* It is probable that this curious piece of metal was at first cast in a square or oblong shape, but had afterwards been beaten into broader superficies, and sharpened towards the ends, where marks of the hammer were clearly discernible. In the centre of its area was an impression in Roman characters, consisting of two lines; and these letters, excepting the two last in each row, were perfectly legible; but the others, either from having been in the first instance only faintly impressed, or since flattened with the hammer, represented rather a doubtful relief; the traces of them, however, connected with the letters preceding, justified their being read EX OFFIC. HONORII, *ex officina Honorii*, from the office or mint of Honorius.

Dr. Milles considered it in some degree questionable, whether *Honorius* was here meant for an officer in the mint where this piece of metal was refined and stamped, or whether it applied to the emperor of that name: many reasons, however, induce us to adopt the latter signification: the form of the letters and the style of the mark unite in giving it antiquity coeval with Honorius's reign, and the peculiar circumstance of its being found with the three gold coins above mentioned, one of which was of that emperor, satisfactorily identifies it with his person. We may therefore conclude, that the impression was made with the stamp of the imperial mint, as soon as the metal had been assayed; and was intended to certify its standard purity and weight; and also, perhaps, to give it currency.

The three aurei, or gold coins, (one of Honorius, and the other two of his brother Arcadius,)^b were found in a perfect state of preservation; and, from their great similarity in almost every particular, there can be scarcely any doubt that they were struck in the same mint; the principal variation between them being in the name, and a slight difference in the features of the two emperors. On the coin of Honorius is his head, with a diadem, and the words DN. HONORIVS

* See an engraving of it in the fifth volume of the *Archæologia*, accompanying Dr. Milles's description.

^b Arcadius and Honorius succeeding to the empire on the death of their father Theodosius, commonly called The Great, in the year 395, the government of the eastern division was allotted to Arcadius, and that of the western to his brother and colleague Honorius, the last of the Roman emperors that preserved any authority in Britain.

PF. AVG. The reverse represents a warrior, bearing down a captive with his left foot, holding in his right hand a sign of victory, and in his left a labarum. The legend of the contour is VICTORIA AVGGG. In the area is the letter N. on one side of the figure, on the other side D, and below it CONOB.

The two coins of Arcadius correspond with that of his brother in every particular, except in the name of the emperor, and in one of them the letters R. N. in the area being substituted for N. D.

There is every reason for believing that these coins, or those of Arcadius at least, were struck at Constantinople, where the chief imperial mint was established from the time that Constantine the Great made that city the seat of his empire :^a the resemblance also in the device, legends, and workmanship, and the letters CONOB. being under the figure on the reverse, are circumstances which render it extremely probable that that of Honorius was coined in the same place.

The most reasonable idea that presents itself respecting these pieces of money, is, that they form a small remain of some of the last treasures sent into Britain for the payment of the Roman forces, engaged in protecting her defenceless inhabitants against the ravages of the Picts and Scots ; and the silver ingot, whether intended to pass in its state of bullion, or meant for coinage in this country, was, most likely, imported at the same period, and designed for the same end.

At some distance from the spot where the gold coins and piece of silver were dug up, and near to an old well, was found a stone, two feet eight inches high, by two feet four inches broad, and inscribed in Roman characters, DIS MANB. T. LICINI ASCANIUS F. which may either be read *Diis manibus Titi Licinii Ascanius fecit*, or *Diis manibus Titus Licinius Ascanius fecit* ; but, as Dr. Milles justly observes, the first is best supported by the authority of the inscription itself ; for, by putting the name of Licinius genitively, the stone is dedicated to his manes, and in this form many inscriptions may be seen in Gruter. There seems to be no reason for abbreviating the name of Licinius, nor does Ascanius appear to have been a person of sufficient consequence to be honoured with a prænomen and a cognomen ; as

^a Archæologia, vol. v. p. 294.

there are but four instances wherein that name occurs in the Gruterian collection; in one of which he appears as a slave; in another, as a freeman to the emperor; and in the remaining two, Ascanius is used as an agnomen.

A small glass crown,^a designed, perhaps, for an ornament to some little statue or image; and a ring, apparently made of a shell, with letters obscurely marked on it, and inlaid with a small piece of silver, were also found on the same occasion, together with various coins and jettons of base metal, some Nurembergh tokens, and other pieces of money, evidently the spurious currency of the second race of French kings.^b

The spot on which most of these curiosities were found, was formerly occupied by the buildings of the ancient palace, and it was undoubtedly the foundations of these^c that are spoken of as having been broken through on the above occasion. How, therefore, the learned president could have grounded so confident an assertion merely on the finding of these antiquities, is difficult to imagine; for, as to the gold coins, the silver ingot, and other articles above described, they were discoveries incidental to any part of the Roman city or its suburbs, and afford of themselves no proof of the existence of an anterior structure.

Before, however, we entirely reject the opinion that a fortification was raised here, while this island was under the dominion of the Romans, it will be but fair to observe that the nature and situation of the spot render such a conjecture at least plausible; for, the boundary of the ancient city having had its eastward termination at or near the place where the Tower now stands, and this being naturally elevated and commanding the course of the river Thames, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Romans, when fortifying the town, might have constructed some kind of fortress here as a greater protection against those predatory hordes, which, towards the decline of the imperial power, began to make successful incursions on the British coasts. But merely because a thing is possible, or even prob-

^a *Archæologia*, vol. v. page 305.

^b *Ibid.*

^c Part of these foundations were again uncovered in the year 1816, opposite the front door of the Office of Ordnance: they bore not the slightest resemblance to Roman masonry, but corresponded precisely both in materials and workmanship with all the most ancient parts of the present fortress.

able, is not sufficient to justify the assertion or belief that it was so : a castle or fortress might have been constructed on the spot in question ; but we have no knowledge of foundations or other remains having ever been discovered which can lead us to regard it as a fact ; nor does any historian, whose authority can be relied on, furnish us with the slightest ground for supposing that any fortification of importance ever did exist here till some years after the Norman Conquest,^a when we have satisfactory evidence of the principal structure, now called the White Tower,^b having been built by command of King William the First, under the superintendence of that celebrated military architect, Gundulph, bishop of Rochester.^c

Whether any other buildings than the great tower, or keep, were erected in the time of the Conqueror, we are not informed : it seems probable, however, that it would not have been left in a state so open and unprotected, but that other fortifications were also raised ; and to these several additions were made by William Rufus, and by his successor king Henry the First. The former in 1097, the year in which he built the Great Hall at Westminster, surrounded the Tower with a wall of stone ; by which, as we are told, he increased the murmurs and discontents of his subjects, particularly the inhabitants of the neighbouring counties, who were bound to aid in the king's works.^d

The Tower at a very early period was used as a place of confinement for offenders against the state. In 1100, soon after the death of William Rufus, Ranulph Flambard, bishop of Durham, was imprisoned there by order of King Henry the First,^e who adopted this measure to establish himself in the affections of the people, the bishop having become odious by being the principal minister of the late king, and the instrument of the tyranny and oppression which rendered him so unpopular among his subjects.^f

^a Stow, in his *Survey of London*, says, that the great White Tower was built about the year 1078 ; but it seems much more probable that it was not undertaken till some few years afterwards ; for Gundulph, who was previously a monk in the abbey of Bec, in Normandy, was not made bishop of Rochester till 1077 ; and for a considerable time afterwards he appears to have been employed in restoring the church of Rochester, &c.—See *Vita Gundulphi in Bibl. Cotton*.

^b See a particular description of this building in Section II.

^c *Textus Roffensis*, edit. Hern. p. 212.

^d *Chron. Saxon.* sub anno 1097.

^e *Chron. Saxon.* sub anno 1100. *Ord. Vitalis in Hist. Normann. Script.* p. 786. Roger. Hoveden. in *Script. post Bedam*, p. 468. *Simon Dunelm. in Dec. Script.* col. 226.

^f See the account of Distinguished Prisoners, Part II.

Whether either of our monarchs before King Stephen ever made the Tower a place of their residence, is quite uncertain: we know, however, that he, in the gloomy state of his affairs in the year 1140, retired to it with but a slender retinue, and kept his court there during the festival of Whitsontide.^a

It appears that the custody of the Tower, probably not long after its erection, was conferred as an hereditary office, on the family of De Mandeville;^b and thus in the year 1140, it came to the hands of Geoffrey, grandson of the great Geoffrey de Mandeville who accompanied the Conqueror into England, and so bravely fought under his banners at the battle of Hastings.^c As this great baron inherited the influence and valor, as well as the wealth of his ancestors, to attach him to his cause, was an object which promised too many advantages to be overlooked by King Stephen, and he therefore confirmed him in his office, and also raised him to the dignity of earl of Essex;^d but that monarch being soon afterwards taken prisoner in the battle of Lincoln, the empress Matilda, during his captivity, gained De Mandeville over to her party by more extended munificence.^e The successes however, which had recently attended her cause, and which seemed to secure its final triumph, were suddenly followed by reverse of fortune. Having offended the Londoners by refusing to abolish the laws of her father, and restore to them those of King Edward the Confessor, she was driven out of the capital by an insurrection; and Stephen being soon afterwards released in exchange for the earl of Gloucester, who had been taken prisoner at Winchester, the hopes of her party began as rapidly to decline, as the power of the usurper seemed to acquire strength from his late misfortunes.

Between De Mandeville and the Londoners there appears to have

^a Will. Malmesbur. in Script. post Bedam, p. 186.

^b Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 201.

^c Ibid. p. 202.

^d Fœdera, vol. 1. pars I. p. 18. N.E.

^e By her charter, dated at Oxford in 1141, she confirmed him in all the possessions of his father and grandfather, whether in lands, forts, or castles, particularly the Tower of London, and the castle under it to strengthen and fortify as he pleased; and besides various other lands and liberties, granted him the hereditary sheriffalties of London and Middlesex, and of Hertfordshire. By a subsequent charter, dated at London, in the same year, she also conferred on him and his heirs the earldom of Essex, and gave them the third penny of the pleas of the county, and the custody of the Tower of London, with a little castle there which belonged to Ravenger, and all lands, liveries, and customs thereto belonging, to fortify at pleasure.—*Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. i. p. 202, 203.

existed an implacable animosity,^a and no sooner had they taken up arms against the empress, and frightened her away from the metropolis, than they closely besieged him in the Tower; but, having fortified it,^b we are told by Hollinshed, that he made a valiant and successful defence, and that "issuing forth at one tyme, he came to Fulham, where he took the bishop of London, as then lodged there in his own manor place, being one of the contrary faction."

We may infer that at the period to which we are now alluding, the Tower was a place of such strength that any attempt to reduce it, if properly garrisoned, was deemed hopeless; for after King Stephen's release, we do not find that he took any measures to gain possession of it, or to punish the treachery of De Mandeville, till that nobleman, in 1143, ventured to appear at his court, which was then holden at St. Albons, when he ordered him to be arrested; and as the price not only of his liberty, but his life, compelled him to surrender that fortress, as well as his two great castles of Walden and Plesshey.^c

From this time the Tower remained in the hands of Stephen till the final treaty between him and Henry duke of Normandy, in 1153, when it was delivered in trust, together with the castle of Windsor, to Richard de Lucy, the chief justiciary, whose son was taken as a pledge for the immediate surrender of these fortresses to the duke on King Stephen's decease.^d

Whether King Henry the Second ever kept his court at the Tower, or made any additions to its buildings, we are not informed; and history is silent as to any interesting particulars respecting it, during his long and prosperous reign. Fitz Stephens, indeed, a curious writer of that age, speaks of it in his description of London, as being then "*arcem palatinam maximam et fortissimam, cujus aræ muri à fundamento profundissimo exurgunt, cemento cum sanguine animalium temperato;*" and we are also told, that among the many favors which King Henry unworthily conferred on Thomas à

^a Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 201. See also Memoirs of the Constables of the Tower, Part II.

^b Mat. Paris, p. 105. edit. 1571. Ord. Vital. in Hist. Normann. Script. p. 786.

^c Ord. Vital. p. 786. Roger. Hoveden. p. 488. Henr. Huntingdon. p. 393. Rad. de Diceto. Chronica Gervasii. Annal. Waverl. Chron. Joh. Brompton. Chron. W. Hemingford, &c.

^d Fœdera, vol. i. pars 1. p. 18.

Becket in the early part of his reign, was to commit the Tower to his custody:^a but this information must either be incorrect, or it should seem that he was deprived of that office before his advancement to the see of Canterbury: for one of the first causes of the memorable quarrel between that arrogant prelate and his sovereign, is said to have been his requiring to have the custody of that fortress, and also of the castle of Rochester.^b

In the year 1189, when King Richard the First, thirsting for fame, or burning with religious zeal to distinguish himself against the enemies of the Christian faith, undertook his expedition to the Holy Land, he constituted Longchamp, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, the governors and guardians of the kingdom during his absence; and to the former he also gave the charge of the Tower of London,^c an appointment which excited the jealousy of his weak and ambitious colleague,^d and was instrumental in producing those animosities, which shortly after the king's departure broke out between the rival prelates.

The possession of this important citadel was not less gratifying to Longchamp's haughty nature, than useful to support his tyranny; and no sooner had he returned from France, whither he had accompanied Richard on his way towards Palestine, than he strengthened its fortifications and surrounded it with a deep ditch:^e he also garrisoned it with his own retainers, and there sought refuge when the incensed nobility took up arms to hurl him from the summit of his unmerited greatness.^f Longchamp, by assuming an absolute and tyrannical sway, both in church and state, had raised the disgust and resentment of the whole nation, and afforded the king's brother^g just pretext for interfering in the government, and opposing the torrent of his violence and oppression. The prince summoned the prelates and nobility to meet at Reading on the Saturday after

^a Hume's History of England, vol. i. p. 384.

^b Chronica Gervasii, col. 1384. Hollinshed's Chronicle, &c.

^c Chronicon Joh. Bromton, col. 1170. Mat. Paris, p. 209. ^d Chron. Joh. Bromton, ut supra.

^e Chron. Joh. Bromton, in Decem Script. col. 1170. Mat. Paris, p. 217.

^f Hoveden, p. 701, 703. Diceto, col. 664. Bromton, col. 1226. Mat. Paris, p. 223. Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 530.

^g John Earl of Moreton, afterwards king.

Michaelmas;^a and before this assembly the regent was cited to appear at Loddon Bridge on the following Monday, to answer for his maladministration:^b but Longchamp, who had taken up a position in the neighbourhood of Windsor, with a considerable body of foreign troops,^c not chusing to trust himself in the hands of his adversaries, decamped in all haste to the capital, and shut himself up in the Tower.^d Thither, however, he was as hastily pursued by the confederates, who straightly besieged him in that fortress;^e and the humbled tyrant, finding himself beset on all sides without hopes of relief, agreed to surrender it to his opponents. After he had been deposed from his authority as regent by a general council of the nation,^f Longchamp held a parley with the confederated nobility from the eastern part of the Tower,^g and submitted to the terms proposed to him. He yielded in the first place the Tower of London;^h and having given hostages for the performance of other stipulations, was permitted to retire across the Thames to the priory of Bermondsey, whence he stole away to Canterbury, and finally to Dover; and there, in attempting to get out of the kingdom disguised in a female dress, he was detected and led prisoner to a dungeon, loaded with the imprecations of the sailors, and 'honest women of the town.'ⁱ

On the surrender of Longchamp, which was but a few days after he had fled to the capital, the Tower was entered by prince John, and the rest of the confederated nobles, who delivered it in trust to the archbishop of Rouen, in whose custody it remained till King Richard's return into England.

It appears from various notices in coeval records that considerable

^a Diceto, col. 664. Mat. Paris, p. 222. ^b Hoveden, Diceto, and Bromton, ut supra.

^c Chron. W. Hemingford, in Hist. Brit. Script. vol. ii. p. 530.

^d Hoveden, p. 7013. Diceto, col. 664. Bromton, col. 1226. Mat. Paris, p. 223.

^e Chronica Gervasii in Decem Script. col. 1571.

^f On the day after Longchamp fled to the capital, John earl of Moreton, the king's brother, together with the archbishops of Rouen and York, the bishops of Durham, London, Winchester, Bath, Rochester, Norwich, Lincoln, Hereford, St. David's, and Coventry; and the earls and barons, and the citizens of London; assembled in the churchyard of St. Paul; and various charges being brought against the regent, he was removed from his offices, and the archbishop of Rouen substituted in his room.—See Hoveden, Diceto, Bromton, and Mathew Paris.

^g Diceto, col. 664. Mat. Paris, p. 223.

^h Hoveden, p. 704.

ⁱ Ibid.

additions and repairs were made to the fortifications of the Tower during the time of King John,^a and that, that unhappy monarch frequently kept his court there, especially towards the latter part of his reign;^b but it is observable that he seldom confined his residence many days together to any particular spot, being generally, when unoccupied by his wars in France, removing from one castle to another in different parts of his kingdom;^c a circumstance which may account for the various places which still retain the name of King John's palaces.

In the year 1215 the long-kindling flames of discord broke out between John and his barons; and at the very commencement of hostilities, the latter took possession of the capital at the invitation of the citizens, and laid siege to the Tower; but, although there were only few within to defend it,^d it held out until the signing of the Great Charter;^e when, as a security for the performance of certain conditions exacted with that celebrated code, the king was obliged to agree that the city of London should remain in the possession of the rebels, and the Tower be delivered in trust to the archbishop of Canterbury till the fifteenth of August, or the fulfilling of this agreement; when both were to be restored to the royal authority.^f Engagements, however, which were obtained by force, John thought himself but little bound to observe; and, aided by the terrific power of the Pope, he had no sooner the means than he employed them in recovering his kingly prerogatives, and endeavouring to shake off the yoke which had been thus imposed upon him: civil war ensued; the barons remained masters of the city, and the archbishop continued in charge of the Tower till after the arrival of the French in the following year, when it was given up to Prince Lewis,^g who had been invited into England to take possession of the crown.

The French seem to have regarded the acquisition of the Tower, as an object of still higher importance than it was looked upon

^a Rot. Claus. 14 Joh. m. 2. Ibid. 15 Joh. p. 2. m. 5, 9. Ibid. 16 Joh. m. 7. Ibid. 17 Joh. m. 23, &c.

^b Vide Rot. Pat. et Claus. de annis 14, 15, et 16 Regis Johannis.

^c Vide Rot. Pat. et Claus. regn. Regis Joh. in Turr. Lond.

^d Stow's Annals.

^e The barons entered London on the 24th of May, and the Great Charter was signed on the 15th of June.

^f Fœdera, vol. i. pars i. p. 133.

^g Chron. de Dunstaple, vol. i. p. 73, 75.

in the several political transactions already noticed; for we are informed by Hollinshed that after they became possessed of it, "their captains and gentlemen thinking themselves assured of the realm, began to shew their inward dispositions and hatred towards the Englishmen; and, forgetting all former promises, did many excessive outrages, in spoiling and robbing the people of the country without pity or mercy."

That spirit, however, of turbulence and faction which had induced the barons to take up arms against King John, and to sacrifice the interests and independence of their country, began to be allayed on the death of that weak and misguided monarch; and the returning loyalty and obedience of the English to their young sovereign, and a series of other disasters which attended his cause, induced Prince Lewis to surrender this as well as the other fortresses in his possession, and to abandon the iniquitous design of paving his way to a throne, by feeding the flames of discord which had unhappily arisen betwixt a people and their king.

The Tower having thus come into the hands of King Henry the Third in the year 1217, that monarch for several years after he ascended the throne, was almost constantly employed in repairing the injuries which it appears to have sustained during the late troubles, and in increasing and strengthening its fortifications:^a indeed, to him the Tower owed much of the splendor and importance which it possessed in early ages: to his time may be ascribed the erection of some of the most interesting of the buildings that are now extant; and the records of that era, which abound with curious entries evincing Henry's great and constant zeal for the promotion of the fine arts, contain many interesting orders which he gave for works of that kind to be executed in different parts of the Tower. The royal chapels there, as well as the great hall, and the king's chamber of state, are subjects of frequent and curious mention.^b The former were repaired and adorned with paintings and pieces of sculpture: on the great hall considerable pains and expense appear to have

^a Rot. Claus. 1 Hen. III. m. 17. 2 Hen. III. m. 14, 15. 3 Hen. III. m. 2. 4 Hen. III. m. 1. 5 Hen. III. m. 1, 3, 4, 5, 13. 6 Hen. III. m. 4. 7 Hen. III. m. 23. 9 Hen. III. pars 2. m. 6. 10 Hen. III. m. 3.

^b See account of these buildings in Section II.

been bestowed; and it was directed that the king's chamber should be painted with the story of Antiochus.

King Henry the Third appears very frequently to have resided in the Tower,^a particularly during his minority, and to have kept in it some of those religious festivals, for the pompous celebration of which his reign is so peculiarly distinguished.^b In 1220, he kept his court there during the solemn period of Lent;^c and we find that on that occasion he borrowed two hundred marks of Pandulf the Pope's legate,^d and one hundred of Henry of St. Albans,^e to defray the expenses of his household; and also received of the bailiffs of Gloucester part of a fine of three hundred lampreys,^f which they had agreed to render to his father in lieu of providing for the hostages of Jersey, who had been placed under their custody.

In the year 1232, the keeping of the Tower, with a fee of fifty pounds per annum,^g was granted for life to the famous Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent;^h but being soon afterwards undermined in the king's favor by his great rival and enemy, Peter de Roches, bishop of Winchester, he was deprived of this as well as his other offices and honors, and the Tower became his prison! The conduct of Henry towards this great man in his fallen fortune, presents a striking picture of his weak and capricious character. De Burgh had been a faithful servant to King Richard; to King John he had constantly adhered through all the vicissitudes of his life; and the eminent services which he had rendered to Henry himself, deserved

^a Vide Rot. Claus. et Pat. temp. ejusdem reg.

^b Ibid.

^c Rot. Claus. 4 Hen. III. m. 12.

^d Ibid.

^e Ibid. m. 13.

^f Ibid. m. 14.

^g Rot. Cart. 16 Hen. III. m. 5.

^h We are told by Hume, in his History of England, vol. ii. p. 156, and by Dr. Henry, in his History of Britain, vol. viii. p. 5, 6, that the Tower of London was in the custody of De Burgh in 1223, when King Henry demanded restitution of all the castles, &c. belonging to the crown; and that, in order to bring the barons to a more ready compliance with that necessary mandate, he set them the example by resigning this fortress, together with the castle of Dover. In this assertion, however, they are unsupported by the authority of coeval records, which make no mention of his having the charge of it before the grant above referred to; but on the contrary, favor the opinion that at that time the Tower was in the custody of Pandulf, bishop of Norwich; for John de Bren, king of Jerusalem, and the grand master of the Knights Hospitalers, having in that year come into England to seek aid for the relief of the Holy Land against the Sarazens, lodgings were provided for them in the Tower, where they were entertained by that celebrated prelate, who had then the care of the royal fortress.—Vide Mat. Paris, p. 426. Hollinshed's Chronicle. Rot. Claus. 9 Hen. III. m. 18.

every gratitude which human nature could feel, and every favor which a sovereign could bestow on his subject: yet at the mere instigations of his enemies, he could pursue him with the most malignant fury, and, not content with depriving him of his employments in the state, and the merited rewards of his fidelity, he consigned his person to a dungeon, and charged his memory with crimes, the vilest that wickedness could imagine, or baseness perpetrate.^a

In 1233, the Tower was appointed for the residence of the princess Isabel, King Henry's sister;^b and she remained there under unaccounted-for restraint till her marriage with the Emperor Frederick in 1235.^c

In the year 1236, a parliament or great council was summoned to meet at London on the fourth kalends of May, and on the day of its assembling, the king removed from Westminster to the Tower,^d with the intention of holding it within that fortress; but so far had Henry lost the confidence and respect of his subjects that the barons unanimously refused to attend him there,^e suspecting that, surrounded as he then was by foreign relations and favorites, some evil designs were formed against their persons or liberties; and he was in consequence obliged to return to his palace,^f the usual place of holding these assemblies.

In the year 1239, Henry secretly laid up a great mass of treasure in the Tower, and began to give a more formidable character to that fortress,^g by surrounding it with an additional line of fortifications,—measures which were, probably, suggested by that spirit of turbulence which had begun to manifest itself among the barons, with a view to secure a retreat in case of any imminent danger. His design, however, was frustrated for a time by a series of extraordinary disasters which attended the undertaking. The works were scarcely completed, when, on the night of St. George in the following year,^h the foundations gave way, and a noble portal, with the walls and bulwarks, on which so much pains and expense had been bestowed, all fell down

^a See Memoirs of the Constables of the Tower, in Part II.

^b Rot. Claus. 18 Hen. III. m. 2. 19 Hen. III. m. 16.

^c Mat. Paris, p. 554. edit. 1571.

^d Ibid. p. 574.

^e Ibid.

^f Ibid.

^g Ibid. p. 651.

^h "Eodemque anno, structura lapidea cujusdam nobilis portæ, quam sumptuoso nimis labore rex construxerat, quasi quodam terræ motu concussa, cum suis antemuralibus et propug-

as if by the effect of an earthquake ; and, strange to relate, no sooner were these works restored, than in 1241, the whole again fell down on the very night and, as we are told, at the selfsame hour that had proved destructive to them in the year preceding. This extraordinary circumstance, embellished with much of the superstition of the time, is related by an otherwise faithful historian of that period,* who informs us that the king had expended upwards of twelve thousand marks upon the work, and that its disastrous fate proved a source of great joy and satisfaction to the Londoners, who would fain have had it believed that their great guardian saint, Thomas à Becket, in the plenitude of his zeal for their preservation and interest, had taken a nocturnal trip from his tomb at Canterbury, and, by the magic of his archiepiscopal staff, had effected all this mischief.

It is highly probable that the successive misfortunes which had thus attended the king's designs to enlarge and secure the Tower, were chiefly owing to the badness of the ground on which the works were founded : be this, however, as it may, after the second accident

naclulis nocte sancti Georgii corruit. Quo audito, rex multiplicatis sumptibus, jussit illud opus ruinosum restaurari et in melius redintegrari.—*Mat. Paris, edit. Lond. anno 1571, p. 733.*

* “ Circa dies illos, cuidam presbytero, viro sancto et prudenti, in nocturna visione revelatum est, quod quidam archipræsul, pontificalibus ornatus, crucem in manu sua bajulans, venit ad mœnia, quæ tunc rex juxta Turrin Londinensem construxerat, et torvo ea vultu respiciens, impulit ipsa fortiter et impetuosè cruce quam portabat dextera, et ait : *ut quid reedificamini?* et subito corruerunt mœnia de novo constructa, quasi quodam terræ motu labefactata. Et his visis sacerdos perterritus, ait cuidam clerico, qui videbatur suum sequi archipræsulem : *Quis est hic archiepiscopus?* Et hic : *Beatus Thomas, martyr, natione Londinensis, qui considerans hæc fieri in contumeliam et præjudicium Londinensium, diruit irrestaurabiliter.* Et sacerdos : *O quot expensas et artificum labores irritavit!* Cui clericus : *Si pauperes artifices stipendiis inhiantes et indigentes inde sibi victualia promeruerunt, tolerabile est; sed quia non ad regni defensionem, sed ad inno-
cuorum civium gravamen constructa sunt, si non ea beatus Thomas diruisset, sanctus Edmundus Confessor et successor ejus crudelius ea funditus evertisset.* Et his visis, memoratus sacerdos expergefactus somno, surrexit, et in medio noctis conticinio palàm quæ sibi videbantur omnibus in domo existentibus enarravit. Mane autem facto, per totam civitatem Londinensem rumor increbuit, quod mœnia circa Turrin ædificata, pro quibus construendis rex plusquam duodecim millia marcarum effunderat, irrestaurabiliter corruerunt, multis admirantibus, et quasi pro malo prænostico conantibus, quòd eadem nocte, imò eadem hora noctis anno præterito, scilicet, nocte sancti Georgii, ipsa muralia cum suis propugnaculis corruerunt. Pro quo casu cives Londinenses minime dolentes, vehementer obstupuerunt: Erant autem eis quasi spina in oculo. Audierant itaque minas objurgantium, quòd constructa erant memorata mœnia in eorum contumeliam, ut si quis eorum pro libertate civitatis certare præsumeret, ipsi recluderentur, vinculis mancipandus; et ut plures pluribus includerentur carceribus, multa in eisdem distinguebantur diverticula, ne quis cum alio haberet confabulationem.”—*Mat. Paris, edit. Lond. 1571, p. 739, 740.*

which befel them, the undertaking seems to have been suspended for several years; nor was it, till impelled by the desperate state of his affairs, that Henry was encouraged to make another attempt at their restoration.

In the year 1244, Griffin, son of Lewellin, late prince of Wales, came to a miserable and untimely end in attempting to escape from the Tower, where with his son and several Welsh hostages, he had long been kept a prisoner.^a Having deceived his keepers, he made a rope with his bedclothes in order to let himself down from a high tower in which he was confined; but while in the act of descending it broke, and the following morning he was found with his head thrust in between his shoulders, a frightful spectacle!^b

In the history of the latter part of the life and reign of King Henry the Third, the Tower forms a prominent and interesting feature. The errors and abuses of Henry's government having occasioned the famous parliament at Oxford in 1258, that assembly wrested the sceptre from the weak and irresolute hand that swayed it, and committed the whole legislative authority to the direction of twenty-four barons. By this supreme council were all the principal offices of the crown and royal household either enjoyed or disposed of; they seized the royal castles and fortresses, and entrusted them to their friends and dependents; and, though one of the king's palaces, they also took possession of the Tower of London, and gave it to the charge of Hugh le Bigod,^c one of the most powerful of their adherents. By these, however, and other arbitrary and unjust proceedings, the reformers soon began to lose the popularity to which they owed their power, and which marked the commencement of their usurpation. It became manifest that self-interest was disguised under the cloak of patriotism; that the whole fabric of the constitution was subverted

^a Lewellin prince of Wales, who died in 1240, left two sons, Griffin and David, the latter of whom having treacherously got possession of his brother's person, detained him a prisoner, until King Henry, at the solicitation of Griffin's wife, the bishop of Bangor, and several of the Welsh nobility, raised an army and marched into Wales; when David procured his own peaceable possession of the principality by making concessions, and delivering his brother into the hands of the king, who immediately sent him to the Tower of London. *Mat. Paris*, edit. Lond. anno 1571, p. 703, 764. See also the account of distinguished prisoners in Vol. II.

^b *Mat. Paris*, edit. Lond. anno 1571, p. 830, 831.

^c *Annales Monast. Burton*. in *Hist. Angl. Script.* vol. i. p. 416.

or endangered by their innovations; and, that the confusion and distresses of the kingdom were rather increased than diminished by their authority. These circumstances, favoured by jealousies and dissensions which arose among the rulers themselves, at length afforded the king a no very distant prospect of recovering the prerogatives of his throne. After keeping his Christmas at Windsor^a with the queen, his daughter the queen of Scots, and some of his most faithful supporters, he dispatched messengers to the court of Rome to obtain absolution from his oath to observe the provisions of Oxford, and in the beginning of February, 1261, secretly departed to London, and entering the Tower, established his residence in that fortress.^b

As if roused from a lethargy, Henry now began to adopt the most vigorous measures for the re-establishment of his authority: he used extraordinary diligence in fortifying the Tower:^c he caused the gates of the city to be strictly guarded, and all its inhabitants of the age of twelve years and upwards, to take an oath of fidelity:^d he wrote to the most steady of his friends to attend him with horse and armour;^e and he commanded the lords, who, in conformity with the ordinances of Oxford, were to meet on the twenty-first of February,^f that they should come to him in the Tower, there to hold the parliament; but this they refused to do, replying, that if it were his pleasure, they would come to Westminster, the accustomed place of holding these assemblies, but not elsewhere.^g

Henry remained at the Tower from the beginning of February till about the twentieth of April, and during that time was incessantly employed in restoring its fortifications:^h he also surrounded it with a deep ditch; established a trusty garrison, and took every precau-

^a Rot. Claus. 45 Hen. III. m. 22. in Turr. Lond.

^b Continuatio Mat. Paris, A. D. 1261. Mat. Westm. p. 305. Chron. Dunst. vol. i. p. 347. et Chron. T. Wykes.

^c Rot. Claus. et Liberat. 45 Hen. III. Mat. Westm. Chron. Dunst. Cont. Mat. Paris, &c.

^d Chron. Dunst. Cont. Mat. Paris. Mat. Westm. Chron. T. Wykes.

^e Rot. Claus. 45 Hen. III. m. 19. dors. ^f Rot. Pat. 45 Hen. III. m. 17.

^g Chron. Dunstaple, vol. i. p. 347. Hollinshed.

^h The outer ward of the Tower was finally erected at this period: the work was first begun in 1240; but was attended by disasters in that and the following year, as already noticed. For many curious orders which appear on record concerning the Tower at this and other periods, see Appendix.

tion to secure that important citadel against any attack from the barons: he thence dispatched conciliating letters to the several counties of his kingdom; and he there kept the solemn festival of Easter with his wonted hospitality and benevolence.^a

Henry's measures had now fully evinced a determination to free himself from the ignominious conditions to which he had been reduced by the ordinances of Oxford; but these, like most of the actions of his life, proved unsuccessful. It was not to be expected that the barons would resign the sweets of power without a struggle: they flew to arms; drew together their friends and retainers from all parts of the kingdom; and the unfortunate monarch, although supported by the authority of the court of Rome,^b was obliged to submit to an accommodation.^c

This agreement, which was effected shortly after Easter,^d proved not of long duration: the king had no sooner extricated himself from the danger of being besieged in the Tower, than he retired into Kent, and, animated with a promise of support from France, again proceeded to the exercise of his regal authority.^e Coming to Dover on the second of May, he displaced Hugh le Bigod from the custody of the castle,^f and appointed one of his own friends in his stead:^g he gave orders for the reception of the earl of St. Paul, Gerard de Rhodes, and other allies from France;^h he appointed justices itiner-

^a By a writ dated at the Tower of London on the twenty-eighth of March, the constable and bailiffs of Gloucester were commanded to take all the lampreys that could be had in their bailiwick before Easter, and send them to the king from day to day as they might happen to be caught.—*Rot. Claus. 45 Hen. III. m. 14. dors.*

By another mandate, dated at the Tower on the seventeenth of April, the bailiffs of Waltham were directed to cause sixty shillings worth of good and fine bread to be made in their town in loaves of four for a penny, and to be brought and delivered to the king's panterer at the Tower on Easter eve, to be given away to the poor; and similar orders were also directed to the bailiffs of Barking for sixty shillings worth; to the mayor and sheriffs of London for twenty pounds worth; to the bailiffs of Dartford for sixty shillings worth; to the bailiffs of St. Albans for an hundred shillings worth; and to the bailiffs of Kingston and Watford for forty shillings worth, to be delivered at the same time and place.—*Ibid.*

An order was also issued for cloth sufficient to make one hundred and sixty-four tunics to be delivered to the king's almoner at the Tower six days before the feast of Easter, for the use of the poor by command of king and queen; and enough more to make twenty-one tunics for the use of the poor, at the command of the king's children, according to custom.—*Ibid. m. 13.*

^b *Fœdera*, vol. i. pars 1. p. 405, 406.

^c *Mat. Westm.* p. 307.

^d *Ibid.*

^e *Continuatio Mat. Paris.*

^f *Rot. Pat. 45 Hen. III. m. 13.*

^g *Ibid.*

^h *Ibid.*

ant to go their circuits;^a and directed the sheriff of Kent to impose an oath of fidelity on all the inhabitants of that county.^b About the middle of May, Henry returned to London,^c and having committed the Tower to the charge of John Mansel,^d one of his most confidential ministers, soon afterwards proceeded to Winchester to celebrate the feast of Whitsontide;^e and, while occupied there in his devotions and festivities, the barons formed the bold design of seizing his person by surprise:^f but Mansel getting knowledge of the plot, hastened privately away to the king, and warned him of the impending danger;^g whereupon Henry with a small retinue, left the castle of Winchester in the dead of night, and secretly came back to the Tower,^h where, immediately after his return, he discharged Hugh le Despenser, and Nicholas, archdeacon of Ely,ⁱ the chief justiciary and chancellor appointed by the barons, and constituted Philip Basset and Walter de Merton^k in their place: he removed the sheriffs, escheators, constables of castles, and other officers, and substituted new ones;^l and he thence addressed an impressive and conciliating appeal to his subjects, setting forth the treachery, ambition, and abuse of power manifest in the proceedings of the barons, and declaring his resolution thenceforward to exercise his regal authority for the welfare and happiness of his subjects.^m

Although the popular voice, which now began to be raised against the barons, enabled the king to proceed in the full exercise of his prerogatives, the greatest disorder still prevailed throughout the kingdom; for, notwithstanding that the earl of Leicester soon afterwards retired into France,ⁿ the rest of the conspirators continued to oppose the sheriffs and other officers of the crown, and so far succeeded in re-inflaming the minds of the people, that in the month of October, the unhappy monarch was obliged once more to seek refuge in the Tower.^o In this perplexing state of his affairs, Henry

^a Rot. Pat. 45 Hen. III. m. 13.

^b Ibid. m. 12.

^c Rot. Claus. et Pat. 45 Hen. III.

^d Pat. 45 Hen. III. m. 11. 4.

^e Mat. Westm. p. 308.

^f Continuatio Mat. Paris.

^g Mat. Westm. p. 309. Contin. Mat. Paris.

^h Contin. Mat. Paris, et Rot. Claus. 45 Hen. III.

ⁱ Pat. 45 Hen. III. m. 8.—Hume erroneously states that this took place at Winchester.

^k Ibid. et Rot. Claus. 45 Hen. III. m. 10. dors.

^l Ibid. m. 7, 8.

^m *Fœdera*, vol. i. pars 1. p. 408.

ⁿ Ibid. vol. i. pars 1. p. 409.

^o Mat. Westm. p. 311. et Rot. Pat. et Claus. 45 Hen. III.

summoned his military tenants,^a resolved on striking a decisive blow in defence of his throne; and so well was he attended, that the confederates in their turn found it advisable to sue for an accommodation: they were granted a safe conduct to appear at Kingston, provided they came without arms, to treat of peace;^b and there the resumption of the king's authority was ratified: the barons obtained a pardon for all their past proceedings,^c and the country was thus restored to a temporary state of tranquillity and order.

Henry, being thus released from his dangers, removed with his court from the Tower to Westminster, where he kept his Christmas,^d and about the middle of the following year, went over into France with the queen and a splendid retinue, and there imprudently trifled away a large portion of time, which should have been employed in regaining the affections of his people, and securing the re-establishment of a tottering throne. After celebrating the feast of St. Edward at Paris^e in the height of prodigality and splendor, he was attacked by a fever which carried off several of his suite, and prevented his own return into England till the close of the year. He landed at Dover on the twentieth of December,^f but in so debilitated a state, that he was obliged to keep his Christmas at Canterbury,^g not being able to proceed to Westminster, where great preparations had been making for his celebration of that festival. This long and ill-judged absence proved fatal to the royal cause. When Henry arrived in England, he found the kingdom in a state far more distracted than ever: the hidden sparks of rebellion had rekindled; the Welsh had made a formidable invasion on the English marches, and were laying waste the territories of prince Edward^h and other adherents of the crown; and the arrival of Leicester from France, which happened shortly afterwards, was the signal for general revolt. While one party of the rebels assembled on the borders of Wales with that daring conspirator at its head, another was raised in the southern parts

^a Rot. Claus. 45 Hen. III. dors. Mat. Westm. p. 311. ^b Rot. Pat. 45 Hen. III. m. 1.

^c *Fœdera*, vol. i. pars 1. pp. 411, 412.

^d Rot. Claus. 46 Hen. III. m. 17.

^e Rot. Claus. 46 Hen. III. p. 2. m. 3, &c.—He had two hundred head of deer salted and sent to him at Paris from England against this feast.

^f *Fœdera*, vol. i. pars 1. p. 423.

^g Rot. Claus. 47 Hen. III. m. 15. d.

^h *Fœdera*, vol. i. pars. 1. p. 423; et Rot. Claus. 47 Hen. III. m. 13, 14, 15. dors.

of the kingdom ; and the weak and misguided monarch, after a fruitless effort to collect an army at Worcester,^a and prevent the junction of his enemies by breaking down the bridges across the Severn,^b hastily retired to London, and shut himself up with the royal family, his council, and household, in the Tower.^c

The barons, after committing the most wanton excesses on the possessions of those who adhered to the royal cause, advanced towards the capital ; and as they drew near to it, sent a letter under Leicester's seal to the mayor and aldermen of the city, together with a copy of the provisions of Oxford, desiring to know their determination respecting them ; which copy, says Fabian, " the mayre bare unto the kynge, then beyng at y^e Toure accompanied with the quene, the kyng of Almayne, which lately was retourned from beyonde y^e see, and sir Edward his sone, with other of his counsayll ;" and " then the king, intending to know the mind of the city, asked the mayor what he thought of those ordinances and acts," to which he boldly answered, " that before-times he and his brethren and the communalty of the city were sworn to maintain all acts made to the honour of God, to the faith of the king, and profit of the realm ; which oath by his most gracious favor they meant to observe and keep : and moreover, to avoid all variance that might arise between him and his barons within the city, they would keep out all aliens and strangers, if it were his will : " with which answer the king was contented, and the mayor permitted to depart. The barons, however, soon afterwards entered the city, and the king seeing himself in danger of being besieged, and without resources or hopes of relief, appointed commissioners to treat of peace.^d Leicester and his traitorous associates were admitted into the Tower,^e and there the unfortunate king had the mortification of subscribing to conditions still more humiliating than those originally imposed upon him by the ordinances of Oxford. He agreed that all the royal castles and fortresses should be delivered to the barons ; that the provisions of Oxford should be inviolably observed ; and that all foreigners who were

^a Rot. Claus. 47 Hen. III. m. 7. d.

^b Rot. Pat. 47 Hen. III.

^c Chron. Dunst. Mat. Westm. Rot. Pat. et Claus. 47 Hen. III.

^d Rot. Pat. 47 Hen. III. m. 7.

^e Chron. Dunst. vol. i. p. 358.

obnoxious to this supreme council, should be banished;^a and the twenty-four barons, thus reinstated in the sovereignty of the kingdom, replaced the archdeacon of Ely in the office of chancellor; appointed new sheriffs and other officers in all the counties of England, and they committed the Tower of London to the charge of Hugh le Despenser,^b who was also restored to the office of chief justiciary.

From this period the Tower remained in the hands of the barons till the battle of Evesham, in 1265; when the flames of civil discord were allayed by the traitorous blood of Leicester, and the king again restored to his regal authority.

Scarcely, however, had this storm subsided when the country was once more thrown into confusion by the earl of Gloucester. While the king was employed in reducing a party of the late faction who had fortified themselves in the isle of Ely, that nobleman raised an army on the borders of Wales; and, marching to London, was received by the citizens, many of whom, "as men without drede of God or of theyr kynge," were ready again to join the standard of rebellion.^c Having got possession of the city, the earl summoned Otho the pope's legate, who had then his residence in the Tower, to surrender to him that fortress;^d and, on being refused, in the first place cut off every means of the inhabitants being supplied with provisions,^e and afterwards adopted the most vigorous measures to reduce it by siege;^f but the garrison, assisted by a number of Jews who had been allowed to shelter themselves there^g from the dangers

^a Chron. Danst. vol. i. p. 358. Mat. Westm. p. 315. This treaty, by reason of the stipulation for banishing aliens, was in the highest degree offensive to the queen; and, before the barons entered the Tower, she departed thence in a barge, with the design of getting by water to join her son prince Edward, who held the castle of Windsor with a strong garrison of foreign troops; but, as she approached London bridge, the rabble who had collected there, hooted and abused her with the most indecent expressions, crying, *drown the witch*; they pelted her with whatever presented itself, and frightened her back again to the Tower.—*Vide Mat. Paris. Mat. Westm. Chron. T. Wykes, &c.*

^b Hollinshed. ^c Fabian. ^d Continuatio Mat. Paris. Mat. Westm. p. 346. ^e Ibid.

^f Mat. Westm. p. 346. Chron. Thomæ Wykes. Fabian. Hollinshed.

^g Soon after the breaking out of this rebellion the legate, who, with many other great people, had fled to the Tower for safety, ventured to go to St. Paul's, under colour of preaching the cross; but, at the end of his discourse, turning to the earl of Gloucester, reminded him of his alle-

to which that persecuted race was generally exposed in times of commotion, made a long and successful defence.

On the news of this formidable insurrection, prince Edward marched with thirty thousand men from the north,^a and, joining his father at Cambridge,^b the royal army moved thence to Windsor,^c where it was greatly augmented.^d In the beginning of May the king advanced towards London, and taking up his abode in the abbey of Stratford, there celebrated the festival of Whitsontide, his forces being encamped at Ham and other villages adjacent to the capital.

The earl of Gloucester, having in the mean time thrown up works round about the Tower,^e was pressing the garrison to extremities; and it was, therefore, the king's first care, on coming to the neighbourhood of London, to relieve that fortress, and provide for the safety of the legate. He accordingly moved his army in the night-time to assault the city; and, while the attention of the enemy was drawn to the defence of its walls, he threw succours into the Tower, and safely brought Otho away to Stratford.^f Soon after this a large fleet of Gascoigns arrived in the Thames and lay before the Tower waiting the king's orders,^g and the royal army being also joined by the earls of Bologne and St. Paul with a considerable force from France,^h the rebels were struck with dismay and sued for peace;ⁱ which, by mediation of the king of the Romans was finally established,^k and on the seventeenth of June the king entered the city,^l after having invested it for upwards of six weeks with an army of more than three score thousand men.

This rebellion being suppressed and the country once more restored to tranquillity and order, prince Edward assumed the cross,

giance to his sovereign; an admonition which was so unthankfully received, that Otho and some nobles who were with him, were obliged to flee back to the Tower; and on their return many Jews with their wives and children also entered, and one ward of the fortress being committed to them, they bravely defended it against every effort of the besiegers.—*Mat. Westm. pp. 345, 346.*

^a *Mat. Westm. p. 346.* ^b *Ibid.* ^c *Ibid.* ^d *Ibid.* ^e *Fabian. Hollinshed.*

^f “*Per posticum quod de Turri plagam meridionalem respicit et fluvio contignatur, legatum potenter eduxit, et ejus loco defensores idoneos intromisit, eductoque legato occupatores urbis non immeritò deridebat, et procedens usque Stratford ad tria milliaria propè London sine quolibet obice castra fixit.*”—*Chron. Thomæ Wikes.*

^g *Mat. Westm. p. 347. Hollinshed.* ^h *Ibid.* ⁱ *Ibid.*

^k *Rot. Pat. 51 Hen. III. m. 16.* ^l *Rot. Claus. 51 Hen. III. in Turr. Lond.*

and undertook an expedition to the Holy Land; and his father dying while he was abroad, the Tower of London was committed to the care of the archbishop of York^a till his return into England.

King Edward the First, soon after his accession to the throne, considerably improved the fortifications of the Tower, by completing works which were begun by his father, and by greatly enlarging the moat or ditch by which they were surrounded:^b he also erected some strong outworks towards the west, as a defence to the principal entrance; and these may be regarded as the last additions of any importance that ever were made to the fortress.

It does not appear that this monarch ever kept his court at the Tower for any length of time; and, indeed, the principal interest that is attached to it during his reign is derived from its character as a state-prison—the purpose to which it was chiefly appropriated through that active and glorious period. Of the multitudes of Jews who were apprehended in 1278, on suspicion of clipping and adulterating the coin of the realm, no less than six hundred were confined at once in the Tower;^c and the conquest of Wales^d and Edward's ambitious attempts to add Scotland to his dominions provided these prisons with a succession of illustrious tenants, who lost their liberty in a brave but unequal struggle for their country's freedom.^e

^a Rot. Liberat. 1 Edw. I. m. 4. ^b Ibid. 3 Edw. I. m. 7. Rot. Claus. 3 Edw. I. m. 8, 10. Ibid. 4 Edw. I. m. 16. Rot. Lib. 13 Edw. I. m. 3. Ibid. 18 Edw. I., et 20 Edw. I. m. 5, &c.

^c Vide Rot. Claus. 10 Edw. I. m. 5.

^d The subjugation of the Welsh was effected in the latter end of the year 1282, when Lewellin their prince being defeated and slain, his head was with insulting cruelty set upon one of the turrets of the Tower of London; and David, who succeeded him in the principality, being soon afterwards betrayed to the English, was conveyed in chains to Shrewsbury, where he was executed as a traitor, and his head sent to accompany that of his brother.

^e The battle of Dunbar in 1296, having thrown many of the Scottish leaders into the hands of Edward, the earls of Ross, Athol, and Monteith, together with sir John fitz John Comyn of Badenoch, sir Richard Siward, sir John fitz Geoffrey, and several other knights of equal valour and renown, were sent prisoners to the Tower; whither the victor soon afterwards conducted Baliol, their weak and timid sovereign. (*Rot. Claus. 24 Edw. I. m. 7.*) In the latter part of the year 1297, William de Douglas, Thomas de Morham, John de Fortore, Edward, son of John Baliol, Alexander, son of the earl of Mar, and Robert de Strathern, shared in a similar fate. (*Rot. Claus. 25 Edw. I. m. 4, et 26 Edw. I. m. 17.*) And in 1305, the famous William Wallace, being betrayed into the hands of the English monarch, was loaded with chains, and also sent thither a prisoner, as were sir Simon Fraser, sir Christopher Seton, and others, who were taken at the battle of Methven, in 1306.—*See the account of Distinguished Prisoners, in Part II.*

King Edward the Second, like his father, evinced no partiality for the Tower, yet he occasionally retired to it as a place of safety ; and in 1322, left the queen there with her children and household for security, when he marched towards the borders of Wales to take vengeance on his unruly barons : his queen was also brought to bed there of her eldest daughter, who, from that circumstance, was called Jane of the Tower ;^a like as their youngest son, John, acquired the cognomen of Eltham, from having had that favorite spot for his birth-place.

The powerful confederacies formed among the nobility during the reign of Edward the Second, first against Piers de Gaveston, and afterwards against the Despensers, the successive favorites of that unhappy monarch, caused the issuing of frequent orders for putting the Tower in a state of defence ; particularly in the year 1312,^b when engines were constructed, and every diligence used to make it impregnable in case of attack by the barons, who were then in a state of open rebellion.

In the year 1324, the two lords Mortimer, of Wigmore and Chirk, being confined in the Tower of London, and several other of the rebel barons in the castles of Wallingford and Windsor,^c a plot was laid for surprising each of these fortresses, and setting all the prisoners at liberty.^d The attempt was made on Wallingford, but failed, and

^a See Hollinshed's Chronicle.—She was married in 1327, to David Bruce, afterwards king of Scotland.

^b Vide Rot. Claus. anno 5 Edw. II. m. 14, 13, 11, &c. in Turr. Lond.

^c In the year 1321-2, a singular circumstance gave the king an opportunity to redeem his person and authority from the state of degradation to which both had been reduced by the power and insolence of his barons. Having gone to Canterbury with the queen, to perform their devotions at the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, her majesty in returning towards London, desired a night's lodging at the castle of Leeds, in Kent, which belonged to Lord Badlesmere ; but in his absence she was not only denied admittance, but some of her servants were killed as they presented themselves at the gates. So general was the indignation excited by this affront, that the king found no difficulty in raising an army and reducing the castle ; after which he hanged the governor, and sent Lady Badlesmere a prisoner to the Tower of London. Encouraged by this success, and having now an army on foot, Edward was induced to pursue his advantage, and take like vengeance on his more powerful but equally deserving enemies. He accordingly hastened with his forces towards the borders of Wales, and falling upon the barons before they were fully prepared for resistance, several of the most potent submitted themselves, or were taken, and sent prisoners to the Tower, and to the castles of Wallingford and Windsor.

^d *Fœdera*, vol. ii. pars i. p. 514, 537. N. E.

the whole scheme was in consequence frustrated: lord Mortimer of Wigmore, however, found means soon afterwards to escape out of the Tower;^a and, although every exertion was made to apprehend him,^b got over into France; where in conjunction with the queen, the infamous queen Isabel, he afterwards brought about that vile and unnatural conspiracy which deprived the unhappy Edward of his throne and life.^c

In the early part of the year 1326, when the queen, with Mortimer and their traitorous associates, were preparing to invade the kingdom, King Edward greatly fortified the Tower, reinforced the garrison, and provided it with every necessary for defence.^d As the danger drew nearer, the unhappy monarch retired thither with his court; and it was there that he adopted most of the measures which proved so unsuccessful in opposing the designs of his enemies. On the twentieth of June, the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of London, appeared before the king in his presence-chamber in the Tower, and took his commands for preserving the tranquillity of the capital.^e There also Edward received the appalling intelligence that the queen and the rest of the conspirators, with an hostile force, had effected a landing on the coast of Suffolk; and thence he issued his ill-obeyed proclamation for opposing them, and offering a price for the head of the traitor Mortimer.^f The rebels, with increasing power, advanced towards the capital, and the unfortunate king, after having tried in vain to rouse the Londoners to a sense of duty, committed the city

^a He owed his escape to the imprudence of sir Stephen Segrave, the constable, and other officers of the Tower, whom Mortimer invited to a banquet and made intoxicated; for which Segrave was removed from his office and imprisoned, and the bishop of Exeter substituted in his room.—*Vide. Rot. Claus. anno 17 Edw. II. m. 89. in Turr. Lond.*

^b *Fœdera*, vol. ii. pars i. p. 530. N. E.

^c The queen having gone to Paris in order to settle some disputes between the king and her brother the king of France, she there formed an intimacy with Mortimer, and not only yielded to him her affections, her fidelity, and honor, but heartily embarked in all the treasonable schemes of that vile conspirator. Having artfully got into their hands the person of prince Edward, and being joined in the plot by all the discontented and exiled barons, they made preparations to invade the kingdom and thrust the unfortunate monarch from the throne. They accordingly engaged a small army in Holland, and sailing from the harbour of Dort, landed on the coast of Suffolk, and were too successful in their base and unnatural enterprise.

^d *Rot. Claus. anno 19 Edw. II. m. 16, 13. in Turr. Lond.*

^e *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 631. N. E.

^f *Ibid.* p. 643, 644.

to the charge of the bishop of Exeter, and leaving his young son John of Eltham in the Tower,^a quitted that fortress on the second of October,^b in hopes of finding greater loyalty in the western parts of his kingdom.

No sooner had Edward left the metropolis than the rebel spirit of its inhabitants broke out with all its wonted fury : they seized that amiable and loyal prelate, the bishop of Exeter, and cut off his head;^c others, who were suspected of attachment to the king, shared a similar fate:^d they took the Tower by surprise; liberated the prisoners,^e and having turned out all the king's officers, appointed others in the name of the young prince, John of Eltham.^f

These events having been followed by the dethroning and murder of the king, and the succession of his son prince Edward, policy dictated to the queen and Mortimer, that not only their sway, but safety in the country, must now chiefly depend on their power and influence over the person and mind of the young monarch; and they accordingly took care, that when in the neighbourhood of London, a great portion of his time should be passed in the Tower,^g where they could effectually seclude him from public affairs, and from intercourse with those who were suspected of being unfavorable to their proceedings. His brave and noble spirit, however, was not to be controlled; it shot like a meteor through this cloud of infamy; and Mortimer, being by his command arrested at Nottingham, 1330, was conveyed once more to the Tower,^h and thence to the gallows, the merited reward of his crimes.

In 1336, by virtue of a commission issued out of chancery, a minute survey was taken of the Tower, and of all its buildings;ⁱ and in the following year various orders were given, as well for repairing and strengthening the fortress, as for its safe custody:^k in one of these in particular, the king directs that, "on account of certain

^a Rot. Claus. anno 20 Edw. II. m. 4.

^b Rot. Claus. anno 20 Edw. II. in Turr. Lond.

^c Walsingham, p. 124. T. de la More, p. 599. Ad. Mirimuth, p. 66. ^d Hollinshed.

^e Ibid. ^f Ibid. ^g Vide Rot. Pat. et Claus. anno 1 et 2 Edw. III. in Turr. Lond.

^h Hollinshed.

ⁱ The return to this commission, which affords us many curious and valuable particulars respecting the Tower at that period, will be found at length in the Appendix.

^k Rot. Claus. 10 Edw. III. m. 8, 12, 14, 26.

news which had lately come to his ears, and which sat heavy at his heart; the gates, walls, and bulwarks should be kept with all diligence, lest they should be surprised by the cunning of his enemies :"^a he also commanded that, for its defence, all his officers and other men within the Tower, should be provided with arms according to their respective conditions,^b and moreover gave orders, that the gates of the fortress should be closed from the setting till the rising of the sun ; that all the officers and others therein should be sworn to well and faithfully preserve the same ; and that none should go out either by day or night without special permission.^c

During the year 1337, and the early part of 1338, King Edward spent a large portion of his time at the Tower,^d making preparations for the expedition, with which he was about to maintain his pretensions to the crown of France ; and, on his departure, directions were given for placing a strong garrison in that fortress, and furnishing it with every thing necessary to render it a fit and secure residence for his son, prince Edward, whom he had appointed to govern the kingdom during his absence.^e The king sailed from the port of Orwell on the 16th of July, 1338 ;^f and, after exhausting his treasures, and burthening himself with debts, landed there again on the first of February, 1340.^g As Edward's return into England was only to obtain supplies for pursuing the favorite object of his ambition, he embarked again for Flanders in the month of June, and marched with his army to the siege of Tournay ; but after spending some months in fruitless operations, and overwhelming himself still farther with pecuniary embarrassments, he found it necessary to take a secret departure for England. He landed unexpectedly at the Tower about midnight, on the thirtieth of November,^h accompanied by the earl of Northampton, sir Walter Manny, and other great men ; and finding that fortress but badly guarded, he imprisoned the governor and other officers, and treated them with exemplary ri-

^a Rot. Claus. 10 Edw. III. m. 26. dors. Dated at Woodstock on the fourth of June.—Similar orders were at the same time given concerning the castles of Dover, Bristol, Hastings, Rochester, &c.

^b Rot. Claus. 10 Edw. III. in dorso, m. 7.

^c Ibid. m. 20.

^d Rot. Claus. et Patent. 11 et 12 Edw. III.

^e Rot. Claus. 12 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 22.

^f *Fœdera*, vol. ii. pars ii. N. E.

^g Ibid.

^h Ibid. p. 1141.

gour.^a The king now took up his residence at the Tower; and, on the morrow after his arrival, he there discharged the lord chancellor,^b the lord treasurer and other of his ministers, in consequence of the many disorders and abuses which had crept into the kingdom during his absence.^c

From the period of Edward's second return into England in 1340, till he sailed with his army into Brittany in the month of October, 1342, he chiefly kept his court at the Tower,^d where the queen, in the mean time, was brought to bed of a princess,^e who died in her infancy and was buried at Westminster.^f

Towards the middle of the reign of king Edward the Third, the brilliant successes which attended the arms of England in almost every enterprize in which they were engaged, rendered the Tower peculiarly celebrated as the prison of illustrious captives. In 1346, the taking of Caen,^g one of the richest and most flourishing towns in Normandy, doomed the counts of Eu^h and Tankerville, with three hundred of the most opulent citizens to suffer confinement in that dreaded fortress:ⁱ the many succeeding victories which crowned the valour and discipline of the English, brought others to a similar fate; and whilst Europe thus resounded with the din of Edward's triumphs abroad, successes attended his arms at home, which still increased their numbers. At this period France and Scotland were bound by

^a Ypodigma Neustrizæ, p. 513. Hollinshed.

^b Robert, bishop of Chichester, the chancellor, delivered up the great seal on the first of December; and on the fourteenth of the same month, "in superiori camerâ juxta magnam aulam infra Turrim London;" the king delivered it to Robert Bourghchier, whom he made chancellor.—*Fœdera*, vol. ii. pars ii. p. 1141, 1142.

^c *Fœdera*, vol. ii. pars ii. p. 1142. N. E. ^d Vide Rot. Claus. 15 et 16. Edw. III. in Turr. Lond.

^e Hollinshed.—She was named Blanche. ^f Ibid.

^g Edward landed with an army at La Hogue, in Normandy, on the twelfth of July, 1346, and after taking and plundering various places of lesser note, advanced towards Caen, which was defended by the count d'Eu, constable of France, and the count de Tankerville. On Edward's approach the inhabitants and troops drew out to give him battle, but were routed at first onset, and the victors were immediately in possession of the city. The two counts with 300 of the principal citizens, and an immense booty were put on board the English fleet, and conveyed into England by the earl of Huntingdon.—See *Knyghton*, *Froissart*, &c.

^h The count d'Eu, constable of France, was taken by sir Thomas Holland, and as a reward for that service the king granted him eighty thousand florins to be received out of the subsidy of wool, &c., granted by parliament.—*Rot. Cart. et Pat. fact. apud Cales. anno 21. Edw. III. m. 15.*

ⁱ Knyghton, in Decem Script. col. 2586.

the strongest ties to oppose the ambition of the English monarch, and check the progress of his victorious arms. The former by procuring an invasion of England, hoped to baffle an enemy which she was unable to control; whilst the latter, in order to revenge past injuries and secure her future independence, was easily induced to avail herself of so favorable an opportunity to renew her incursions on the English territories. While, therefore, Edward was engaged in the siege of Calais, King David Brus assembled his forces to the amount of fifty thousand men, and, marching into England, laid waste the country, and carried devastation to the very walls of Durham. There, however, his career terminated. Being met by a small body of English commanded by lord Percy, his whole army was routed at Neville's Cross, near that city, and himself, the earls of Fife and Monteith, and several other of the Scottish chiefs, were taken prisoners, and carried to the Tower of London.^a The king was conveyed from York under an escort of twenty thousand men,^b and the day of his entering the capital was one of as great joy and satisfaction to the people, as that was to the Romans on which the brave Caractacus was brought in chains to the imperial city. David was seated on a high black courser, so that he might be seen to the multitudes who had assembled to witness the glorious spectacle.^c At the entrance to the metropolis, he was met by all the crafts, clad in their respective liveries,^d and with a great shew of honor was conducted from street to street, till he came to the Tower;^e where, on the second of January, 1347, in the presence of the lord chancellor and the lord treasurer, he was delivered into the charge of sir John Darcy, the constable of that fortress.^f

This brilliant victory over the Scots was shortly succeeded by other triumphs which still increased the glory of the English arms, and added to the number of illustrious captives already confined in the Tower of London. In the year 1347, the famous Charles of Blois, one of the competitors for the duchy of Brittany, taken by sir Thomas Dagworth before the fortress of Roche de Rien, was con-

^a Rot. Scot. anno 20 Edw. III. m. 3. in Turr. Lond. Froissart, liv. 1. chap. 139.

^b Knyghton in Dec. Script. col. 2592.

^c Ibid.

^d Ibid.

^e Ibid.

^f Rymer, ex Rot. Claus. anno 20 Edw. III. pars 2. m. 1. in Turr. Lond.—See the account of Distinguished Prisoners, Part II.

ducted a prisoner to that fortress;* and thither also on the surrender of Calais were brought the valiant John of Vienne, the governor, and twelve of the bravest defenders of their native city.^b

The battle of Poitiers, in 1358, having destined John, King of France, and his son Philip, to captivity in England, they were at first lodged at the Savoy, the palace of the duke of Lancaster, where he "kept his house a long season, and thyder came to se hym the kyng and quene often tymes, and made hym gret feest and chere."^c Afterwards, however, he was removed from the Savoy to the castle of Windsor, and all his household, "and went a huntyng and a haukyng ther about at his pleasure, and the lord Philypp his son with hym: and all the other prisoners abode styll at London, and went to se the kyng at their pleasure, and were receyved all onely on their faythes;"^d but in 1359, when King Edward carried his victorious arms again into France; before he left England "he made all the lordes of France, suche as were prisoners, to be put into dyvers places and stronge castelles, to be the more surer of them, and the Frenche kyng was set in the Towre of London, and his yonge sonne with hym, and moche of his pleasure and sport restrayned; for he was then straytlyer kept than he was before."^e From this time the captive monarch and his son spent their hours of confinement in the Tower, where they had enough of consolation if having companions in affliction could afford it; for although the king of Scots had lately been ransomed, after a tedious imprisonment of eleven years, there

* Knyghton in Dec. Script. col. 2596. Rymer, tom. v. p. 534.—Charles de Blois was nephew of Philip de Valois, king of France, and claimed the duchy of Brittany in right of his wife, the niece of the late duke. Having marched with a considerable army and laid siege to the fortress of Roche de Rien, the forces of the countess of Mountfort, his competitor, joined by a body of English under sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked him under the walls of that place at day-break, on the twentieth of June, and put his army to the rout, himself and several noblemen being taken prisoners. Intelligence of this event was brought to the king while he lay with his army before the town of Calais, and the fortunate bearer of it, one John de Merle, received a grant of ten pounds per annum for life, "for relating this happy news."—*Rot. Cart. et Pat. fact. apud Cales. anno 21 Edw. III.*

^b Knyghton, col. 2595.—Edward invested Calais in the beginning of September, 1346, and took possession of it on the fourth of August in the following year.

^c Froissart, by Lord Berners, liv. 1. chap. clxxiii. ^d Ibid. ^e Ibid. chap. ccvi.

still remained many distinguished heroes, both of that and the French nation, whom Edward's successful arms had brought to captivity in that noted fortress.

The treaty of Bretigny, in 1360, having restored the French monarch to his native country, and put an end to those wars which had yielded so much glory to the English name, we find no important particulars respecting the Tower till after the death of King Edward the Third, and the accession of his unfortunate grandson to the throne; when, from its having been the scene of most of the sad events of his reign, it again assumes its interest. Hence, surrounded with all the pomp and pageantry of state, Richard proceeded to the ceremony of his coronation: here at one time he was obliged to seek refuge from his miscreant commons, and at another to flee for safety from his factious nobles: hither he was led a prisoner by his rebellious subjects: here he was forced to resign into the hands of an usurper, the rightful crown and scepter of his kingdom; and this was the resting-place of his murdered corpse previous to its exposure and burial!

Soon after the decease of his grandfather,^a King Richard the Second removed from Westminster to the Tower, where he established his abode for a short time previous to his coronation. The sixteenth of July was appointed for that ceremony, and on the preceding day, being the anniversary of St. Swithin, the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of London, and a great body of citizens and others assembled on an open space adjoining the Tower,^b and the young king, clad in white robes, came forth with a vast multitude of peers, knights, and esquires in his suite,^c accompanied with the sound of trumpets, and all kinds of music; and rode solemnly through the public ways till he came "to the noble street called the Chepe," and thence to Fleetestrete, and so direct to the royal palace at Westminster.^d Before the king, rode his uncle, the duke of Lancaster, and the lord Percy; sir Simon Burley bore the sword, and sir Nicholas Bonde led the king's horse by the bridle on foot.^e The inhabitants of London

^a King Edward III. died at his manor of Shene on the twenty-first of June, 1377.

^b Rymer, vol. vii. p. 157.

^c Ibid.

^d Ibid.

^e Walsingham, p. 139. Hollinshed.

on this interesting occasion, vied with each other in their demonstrations of loyalty and affection: the streets through which their sovereign was to pass, were hung with tapestry and cloth of arras; temples and triumphal arches were erected; and nothing seemed wanting which ingenuity could devise, or expense procure, to testify the joy and respect of a people who looked for prosperity and happiness from the government of a prince, whose father was endeared to them by so rare a combination of virtues.

Such was the splendid, the glittering commencement of Richard's career of royalty: but how short, how visionary was its duration. Scarcely had he assumed the reins of government, when those who had joined in hailing his accession with every demonstration of joy, took up arms to subvert his throne and demolish the whole fabric of the constitution. The breaking out of that memorable insurrection, best known by the name of Wat Tyler's rebellion, was so sudden, its progress so rapid, and the consternation occasioned by it so great and awful, that all seemed appalled: no one had energy to oppose its torrent; and the young king, with his mother, the duchess of Brittany, and many other ladies, with several of the nobility, his council and household, were obliged to seek refuge in the Tower.^a

The first sparks of this rebellion are supposed to have been kindled in the county of Kent; and the insurgents in their way towards the capital having entered the castle of Rochester, and taken sir John Newton, the governor, they forced him to join their company;^b and on their arrival at Blackheath, determined to send him to the Tower of London with a message to the king. The knight accordingly came up the river Thames, and, as those who were in the fortress desired to hear tidings of the rebels, he was immediately admitted, and brought before the king; with whom were "the princess his mother, and his two brothers, the earl of Kent and the lord John Holland, the earls of Salisbury, Warwick, and Suffolk, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord of St. John's, sir Robert of Namur, the lord of Vertaigne, the lord of Gomegynes, sir Henry Sauselles, the mayor of London, and divers other notable burgesses."^c The

^a Knyghton. col. 2634. Froissart. Stow. Hollinshed. ^b Froissart. ^c Ibid.

knight threw himself at the king's feet and implored his pardon for being the bearer of such a message, as it was by force and against his will. "Sir John," said the king, "say what ye will, I hold you excused." "Sire, the commons of your realm assembled on Blackheath, have sent me to desire that you will come and speak with them, and to assure your majesty that you need not doubt of your personal safety, as they hold and will you for their king; but, sir, they say that they will point out to you many things necessary for you to take heed of; the which I have no charge to shew you; but, my redoubted lord, may it please you to give me an answer that may appease them, and make it known that I have fulfilled their mandate; for they have my children as hostages, and unless I return again they will fall victims to their fury."^a

Then the king took counsel what was best for him to do; and it was at length determined that the next morning he should go down the river and speak with them; and he accordingly sent word to the rebels. On the morrow, after hearing mass in the Tower with all his lords, he embarked in a barge, with the earls of Salisbury, Warwick, and Suffolk, and other attendants, and went down the Thames to Rotherhithe, where great multitudes of the rebels were assembled on the banks to speak with him; but, as soon as they beheld the king approaching, they began to shout and cry "as though all the devylles of hell had been amonge them:"^b and the king, alarmed at these symptoms of tumult, was induced to return to the Tower without a conference.^c At this disappointment the insurgents became more infuriated than ever, and immediately set out for London, burning and destroying houses, breaking open the prisons, and committing every species of barbarity and outrage. Favored by the lower orders of the citizens, the gates on London bridge were thrown open to them, and they carried murder and devastation throughout the capital. While one party invested the Tower and prevented any supplies being obtained by the besieged,^d another was more actively employed in carrying on the work of spoil, and imbruing their hands in blood: proceeding towards Westminster, they entered the Savoy, the noble palace of the duke of Lancaster; to which, says

^a Froissart.^b Ibid. and Grafton.^c Ibid.^d Hollinshed.

Hollinshed, "in beauty and stateliness of building, with all maner of princely furniture, there was not any other in the realm to be compared:" and this they pillaged and burnt; the Temple, the famous hospital of the knights of Rhodes, and the houses of lawyers and rich merchants shared in a similar fate; and towards night, wearied and intoxicated, they drew together; and lay with their companions before the Tower, occasionally vociferating the most hideous yells.^a The king was still there, and terror and dismay oppressed the hearts of all: the night was spent in council, and how to avert the impending ruin was the great, the momentous question. William Walworth, the intrepid mayor of London, proposed that they should rush out of the fortress, and, joining with their friends whom he had prepared in the city, fall upon these miscreant wretches in the dead of night; who, unnerved by drunkenness and fatigue, "and out of twenty there being scant one in harness," might have fallen an easy prey to the valour and discipline of a small but well-armed band: this measure, however, was deemed too desperate; for, although the principal citizens had secretly in their houses their friends and servants ready armed, and though there were in the Tower an hundred and sixty knights,^b besides inferior soldiers, it was sorely doubted lest the large body of the Londoners would also rise, and increase a mob which already consisted of three score thousand men^c—considerations which induced the king to adopt a different course. At break of day the rebels began to stir, shouting and crying, that unless the king would come out and speak with them, they would assail the Tower, and slay all that were within; and it was therefore proclaimed, that if they would peaceably withdraw to Mile-end,^d the king would come there and grant them whatever they wished. This had its desired effect: a great portion of the insurgents retired, and Richard, after hearing mass in the Tower, went out to meet them: before, however, the gates could be closed, a chosen band of the rebels rushed into the fortress and committed the most barbarous cruelties: that worthy prelate, Simon Sudbury,

^a Froissart.^b Knyghton, in Dec. Script. col. 2634.^c Froissart.^d Mile-end was an open plain, and from a very early period a great resort of the citizens, who used to exercise themselves there in wrestling, archery, and their numerous other sports.

archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, and sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, being discovered in the chapel, were dragged from their sacred refuge, and led to instant execution:^a others shared in their unhappy fate,^b and the villains then proceeded to lesser enormities: they broke open and pillaged the royal apartments; and, entering the chamber of the king's mother, treated her with the most wanton brutality.^c The princess sunk under the weight of her misfortunes, and in an almost lifeless state, was conveyed by water to the Tower Royal, where she remained in breathless anxiety till the return of her son from treating with the rebels at the place appointed.^d

The fortunate end of this great commotion is well known. After communing with the multitude at Mile-end, and granting them the phantom of their wild imaginations, many returned to their homes; and Tyler and his followers being met the next day by the king in Smithfield, Walworth, the renowned mayor of London, struck that daring leader to the ground, and thus happily extinguished the flames of an insurrection, the most sudden, and, perhaps, the most dangerous that ever assailed the state.

King Richard, who appears scarcely ever to have kept his court at the Tower, but when compelled by the troubles which disturbed his reign, was again obliged to seek refuge there from his uncle the duke of Gloucester, and his factious partisans, in the year 1387. This rebellion had its origin in the preceding year. The parliament, having made complaints against the lord chancellor and other of the king's ministers, succeeded not only in removing them from their offices, but also in changing the whole frame of the constitution: it placed the legislative power in the hands of commissioners of its own selection; and Richard, who could ill brook a measure which reduced him to such perfect insignificance, resolved to attempt at least the recovery of his authority. He held a council at Nottingham, and there took the opinion of the judges on the legality of the late proceedings, which was given entirely in his favor; but this first step was no sooner known, than Gloucester and his adherents flew to arms, and assembled at Haringay-park to the number of forty thou-

^a Walsingham, p. 251. Knyghton, col. 2635. Froissart. Hollinshed.

^b Ibid.

^c Froissart, Hollinshed, &c.

^d Ibid.

sand men. The duke of Ireland on the news of this proceeding retired into Cheshire and raised an army, with which he began his march towards London, in hopes of rescuing his royal master from the grasping hands of those who had arrogated to themselves his power; but being met by some of the confederates at Radcot-bridge, his troops were routed, and himself narrowly escaped by crossing the river Isis on horseback at the hazard of his life.^a After this the lords united their forces at Oxford, and proceeded thence on Christmas-eve to St. Albans, where they celebrated that festival. The king and queen kept their Christmas in the Tower of London,^b whether they had retired for safety; and on the following day his opponents, in three divisions of well appointed troops, encamped under the walls of the capital.^c At first their admission to the city was denied; but the popular voice being soon raised in their favor, the gates were opened, and they immediately blockaded the Tower to prevent the king's escape.^d

In this melancholy state of affairs the archbishop of Canterbury interposed his good offices, and brought about at least the appearance of a reconciliation. After a conference with the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Derby and Nottingham, in the Tower,^e Richard departed to Westminster, and was there obliged patiently to submit

^a Knyghton in Dec. Script. col. 2703.

^b Hollinshed.

^c Ibid.

^d Ibid.

^e The confederated leaders at first refused to attend the king in the Tower, because, as they said, "it was a place to be suspected, for that they might be surprised by some guileful practice devised to entrap them;" but Richard dispelled their fears by sending them the keys of the gates, and of all the strong turrets and chambers, and offering to admit two hundred armed men to make search and clear up their suspicions. The king received them seated in a pavilion richly arrayed, and, "after their salutations done," conducted them into his chamber. The conference was warm and protracted: the lords upbraided him with many actions, as dishonorable as unjust, against the nation and themselves; they alleged that he had conspired with his favorites at Nottingham to take away their lives; they accused him of having commissioned the duke of Ireland to raise forces for their destruction; they reproached him of treating dishonorably with the king of France, and meditating the surrender of Calais and other places, which their ancestors had gained with their blood and treasure; and in the course of the conversation, the earl of Derby took occasion to draw the king's attention to their army which was mustered in the adjoining fields; and, said the arrogant Gloucester, "these are not a tenth of your willing subjects that have risen to destroy those false traitors who have misled you with their counsel." Richard soothed their fiery tempers, promised to meet them at Westminster, and rectify whatever should be found amiss; and, as they were about to depart, invited them to stay and sup with him and the queen, which the earls of Derby and Nottingham did; but the duke of Gloucester excused himself, thinking it safest to depart.—See *Knyghton, Walsingham, Grafton, Hollinshed, &c.*

to all the tyrannical proceedings which ensued. Several of his ministers were accused and condemned for high treason;^a others were banished the court; the judges who had attended the council at Nottingham, and many others, whose crime was only that of possessing the king's favor, were sent prisoners to the Tower;^b and the accomplished sir Simon Burley, although the queen, the good queen Anne, implored his life upon her knees, before the inexorable Gloucester, was beheaded on that fatal hill, which, in after-times, was so frequently the scene of these horrid executions.^c

In 1389, Charles the Sixth of France had given a splendid fete at Paris, on his marriage with Isabel, daughter of the duke of Bavaria; and King Richard, in order that the glitter of his court should not be out-shone by that of a rival prince, soon afterwards proclaimed a feast and tournament to be given at London; and these martial pastimes having been formally published through France and Germany, and other countries, were resorted to by many distinguished foreigners; the Englishmen challenging all comers. This spectacle which commenced on the Sunday after Michaelmas, in the year 1390, was begun by a splendid cavalcade from the Tower, where all the preparations were made on the part of the king. The first day was termed the feast of challenge, and about three o'clock in the afternoon, says Froissart,^d "there issued out of the Towre of London, first, threscore coursers apparelled for the justes, and on every one an esquier of honour ridyng a softe pace; and then issued out threscore ladyes of honour mounted on fayre palfreys, ridyng on the one syde, richely apparelled; and every lady ledde a knight with a cheyne of sylver, which knights were apparelled to just; and thus they came ridynge alonge the stretes of London with great number of trumpettes and other mynstrelles, and so came to Smythfelde, where the king and queen and many ladies and damoiselles were redy in chambers richely adorned to se the justes." Then came the earl of St. Paul accompanied by knights and esquires; and, after the usual proclamations were made by the heralds, the exercises began, "and many commendable courses were run, to the great pleasure, recrea-

^a Rot. Parl. 11 Rich. II.

^b Ibid.

^c Tower-hill.—See the account of Distinguished Prisoners, in Part II.

^d Lord Berners' translation, chap. clxxii.

tion, and comfort of the king and queen, and all other beholders."^a During these fashionable amusements of the time, which continued for several days, the king and queen lodged at the bishop of London's palace, where they kept open household for all the court, especially every night after the justs were ended, "a right sumptuous and princely supper was prepared for the straungers and others;" and afterwards "there was goodly daunsyng in the quene's lodgyng in the presence of the kynge and his uncles, and other barons of England, and ladyes and damoiselles, contynuyng till it was daye, whiche was tyme for every persone to drawe to their lodgynges."^b

In 1396, king Richard married his second wife,^c Isabel, daughter of Charles the Sixth of France; and on the young queen's coming to London, she was first lodged in the Tower, and thence conducted in great pomp through the city to Westminster to be crowned.^d

In the following year, on the night that Richard assisted in arresting his turbulent uncle, the duke of Gloucester, at Pleshey, he came and lodged at the Tower;^e and the next day the duke's factious adherents, the earls of Warwick and Arundel, were brought there prisoners.^f They remained in confinement till the meeting of parliament, when they were both arraigned and found guilty of treason. Warwick continued for some time a prisoner in the Tower, and was finally banished to the isle of Man;^g but the earl of Arundel was instantly led from the place of trial to that of execution:^h he was beheaded on the very spot, to which, but a few years before, he had been a principal instrument in bringing the innocent sir Simon Burley!

The most important occurrence in king Richard's life, as connected with the history of the Tower, was his being conveyed thither a prisoner,ⁱ and his there abdicating the throne in favor of Henry, duke

^a Hollinshed.

^b Froissart, by Lord Berners, chap. clxxii.

^c His former wife, who was justly called *the good queen Anne*, died at the palace at Shene, in 1394.

^d Froissart, Fabian, Hollinshed, &c.

^e Froissart.

^f Walsingham, p. 354. Froissart. Hollinshed.

^g Walsingham, p. 355. Rot. Parl. 21 Rich. II. m. 4.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ In 1399, while king Richard was occupied in suppressing some disorders in Ireland, Henry duke of Lancaster, who, the year before had been banished the realm, returned into England, and being joined by many of the nobility, and finding the people ripe for rebellion, formed and executed the bold design of thrusting the unhappy king from his throne.

of Lancaster. Having fallen into the hands of his more fortunate rival at the castle of Flint, Richard was first taken to Chester, and thence conveyed by easy journeys to London, and lodged a prisoner in the Tower,^a on Tuesday the second of September. At Chester summons were issued, in the royal captive's name, for holding a parliament at Westminster,^b to decide on his ultimate fate; and, the day before it met, certain lords and others of the Lancastrian faction proceeded to king Richard in the Tower, and required him to formally cede and renounce the crown and his royal majesty; agreeable to a promise that he had before made to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the earl of Northumberland, at Conwey in North Wales.^c This he accordingly agreed to do; but desired first to have a conference with the duke of Lancaster and the archbishop of Canterbury; who accordingly went to the Tower the same day after dinner; and then, after talking apart with them, he came forward clad in his kingly robes, with the scepter in his hand, and the crown upon his head,^d and in the presence of the whole assembly solemnly renounced his royal dignity, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance.^e There were present on this occasion most of the prelates, nobility, and others of the usurper's friends; and the record of these memorable proceedings^f asserts, that after Richard had read aloud, and signed and sealed his resignation, he said, that if *he* had any power, his cousin of Lancaster should succeed him in the kingdom, and desired the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Hereford, whom he had appointed to declare his renunciation to the parliament, to announce this his wish to the people;^g and, as a further token and confirmation of it, he took a ring off his finger and placed it upon that of the duke, and requested that this also might be made known to all the estates of the realm.^h

The next day, Richard's resignation being laid before the parliament, the bishop of St. Asaph, for the prelates and clergy; the duke of Gloucester, for the dukes and earls; lord Berkley, for the barons; and sir Thomas Erpingham and sir Thomas Grey, for the commons,

^a Hist. Croyland. cont. in Hist. Angl. Script. tom. i. p. 494. Froissart, &c.

^b Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 355.

^c Rot. Parl. 1 Henry IV. in Turr. Lond.

^d Froissart. Hall.

^e Rot. Parl. ut supra.

^f Ibid.

^g Ibid.

^h Ibid.

accompanied by Markham and Thirning, the two chief justices, were deputed to go to the dethroned monarch and formally renounce their homage and allegiance; which was accordingly done in the king's chamber in the Tower, on Wednesday, the 1st of October.* Thirning was appointed to speak, and he addressed him in the following words:^b

"Sire, ye remembre yowe wele, that on Moneday in the fest of Seint Michell the archaungell, ryght here in this chaumbre, and in what presence, ye renounced and cessed of the state of kyng, and of lordeship and of all the dignite and wirsshipp that longed therto, and assoiled all your lieges of her ligeance and obeisance that longed to yowe, uppe the fourme that is contened in the same renunciacion and cession, which ye redde your self by your mouth, and affermed it by your othe and by your owne writyng. Upon whiche ye made and ordeyned your procuratours the ersbysshopp of York, and the bysshopp of Hereford, for to notifie and declare in your name thes renunciacion and cession at Westmynstre to all the states, and all the poeple that was there gadyrd by cause of the summons aforsayd; the whiche thus don yesterday by thes lordes your procuratours, and wele herde and understonden, thes renunciacion and cession ware pleinelich and frelich accepted, and fullich agreed by all the states and poeple forsayd. And over this, sire, at the instance of all thes states and poeple, ther ware certain articles of defautes in your governance redde there; and tho wele herd and pleinelich understonden to all the states forsaide, hem thoght so trewe and so notorie and knowen, that by thes causes and by mo other, os thei sayd, and havyng consideracion to your owne wordes in your owne renunciacion and cession, that ye were not worthy, no sufficeant, ne able for to governe, for your owne demerites; os it is more pleinerlych contened therin, hem thoght that was resonable and cause for to depose yowe; and her commissaries that thei made and ordeined, os it is of record ther, declared and decreed, and adjudged yowe for to be deposed and pryved; and, in dede, deposed yowe and pryved yowe of the astate of kyng, and of the lordeship contened in the renunciacion and session forsayd, and

* Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. IV.

^b This specimen of the idiom of the fourteenth century is copied from the parliament roll of the first year of Hen. IV.

of all the dignite and wyrsshipp, and of all the administracion that longed ther to. And we, procuratours of all thes states and poeple forsayd, os we be charged by hem, and by hir autorite gyffen us, and in her name, yelde yowe uppe, for all the states and poeple forsayd, homage, liege and feaute, and all ligeance, and all other bondes, charges, and services that longe ther to; and that non of all thes states and poeple fro this tyme forward ne bere yowe feyth, ne do zowe obeisance os to thar kyng."

Such were the proceedings by which king Richard the Second was deprived of his regal offices; and his abdication, whether voluntary or forced, having made way for Henry duke of Lancaster to the throne, preparations were made for his coronation. The day appointed for that ceremony was Monday, the 13th of October, being the feast of St. Edward;^a and on the Saturday preceding, the usurper came to the Tower,^b in order to his solemn procession through the city to Westminster on the following day—a custom which was generally observed from the time of king Richard the Second, till the crowning of the second James. Henry was attended by the great officers of state, his council, and most of the nobility and others; and at mass time the next day he made forty-six new knights of the bath;^c his three sons, and the earls of Arundel and Stafford being of the number. After dinner the king departed from the Tower, and made his progress through the city to Westminster, attended by the prince Henry, his eldest son, six dukes, six earls, eighteen barons, and knights and esquires to the number of nine hundred;^d and the whole procession is said to have consisted of six thousand horse.^e Henry himself was mounted on a white courser, and rode all the way bare-headed:^f he wore a short coat of cloth of gold after the fashion of Germany, with the garter on his left leg, and the livery of France about his neck.^g The streets through which this splendid cavalcade had to pass, were adorned with tapestry and cloth of arras, according to the custom of the times; several conduits flowed with wine during that and the following day,^h and the whole capital presented a scene of unequalled festivity and joy.

^a Froissart. Hollinshed.

^b Ibid.

^c Froissart. Hollinshed.

^d Froissart.

^e Ibid.

^f Ibid. et Chron. Rishang. in Bibl. Cotton. Faust. b. ix.

^g Froissart.

^h Ibid.

Henry thus began his reign amidst the general greetings of the people; but his power did not long remain undisturbed: scarcely was he seated on the throne, when several of the nobility and others, whom the ties of blood or interest, the desire of revenge, or the love of justice, attached to the cause of Richard, entered into a conspiracy for taking away the usurper's life, and replacing the crown upon the head of their injured king. Henry was invited to a tournament at Oxford, and that was to have been the scene of his murder, had not the scheme been frustrated by the treachery of the earl of Rutland, one of the principal leaders in the plot. By him the king was warned of his danger; and, therefore, instead of fulfilling his engagement, he departed from the castle of Windsor, and with a small body of horse secretly retired to London, and shut himself up in the Tower.^a He arrived there about midnight,^b and immediately began to prepare himself for opposing the attempts of his enemies: he was attended next day by six thousand citizens ready to espouse his cause;^c his friends and adherents joined him from all parts of the country, and he soon saw himself at the head of a force which struck terror into the hearts of his enemies, and insured the success of his enterprise. Most of the confederates were seized and executed in different parts of the country; and the bishop of Carlisle and several others were taken and brought prisoners to the Tower.^d

This conspiracy was but a prelude to the doom of the late unfortunate king: his life had hitherto been spared, though still detained in prison;^e but Henry was now convinced that while his predecessor was allowed to exist, the hopes of his friends would ever be kept alive, and that it would prove a source of constant disturbance to his ill-got power; and it was, therefore, not long before the unhappy Richard came to an untimely end. Of the precise manner of his death no decisive account has been given us, but the certainty of it was made known to the world by his corpse being brought to London, and exposed to the general view of the people. It was conveyed on a bier drawn by four black horses, and followed by four knights in

^a Froissart. Hall. Hollinshed. ^b Ibid. ^c Hall.

^d Rot. Claus. 1 Hen. IV. pars ii. m. 6. Fabian. Hollinshed.

^e Soon after Henry's accession he was removed from the Tower to the castle of Leeds, and thence to the castle of Pomfret, the place of his death.—*Hist. Croyland. cont.* p. 494.

black;^a it rested one night in the Tower,^b and was thence borne solemnly to St. Paul's,^c where it lay for three days; 'and there came in and out twenty thousand persons, men and women, to see him where he lay, his head upon a black cushion, and his visage open: some had pity on him, and some had none, but said he had long ago deserved death.'^d From St. Paul's he was taken to Langley, "and there this kyng Richard was buried; God have mercy on his soule!"

After these events the reign of king Henry the Fourth furnishes us with no information respecting the Tower, which is worthy of particular notice, and that of his glorious successor is equally silent and uninteresting. Neither of these monarchs appear to have ever kept their courts there for any length of time, and the principal use to which the royal fortress seems to have been appropriated during those periods, was that of a prison for offenders against the state.^e

In the early part of the reign of king Henry the Sixth, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the earls of Eu and Vendome, and many other distinguished persons, who lost their liberty in opposing the victorious arms of the late king, were confined prisoners in the Tower; and on the release of James king of Scotland,^f in 1423, several of the Scotch nobility and others who were delivered as hostages for the payment of his enormous ransom, were also placed in that fortress.^g

One of the earliest circumstances connected with the history of the Tower after the death of king Henry the Fifth, was that of its having given birth to the violent quarrel which broke out in 1425,^h between Humfrey duke of Gloucester, the protector, and his uncle the bishop of Winchester,ⁱ—a quarrel which threatened the country

^a Froissart. ^b Froissart. Hollinshed.

^c Walsingham, p. 363. Otterbourne, p. 228. Hall. Fabian. ^d Froissart.

^e See the account of Distinguished Prisoners, Part II.

^f He was captured at sea on his passage towards France, and brought prisoner to the Tower in 1406.—See Hollinshed.

^g See the account of Distinguished Prisoners. ^h Hall, Hollinshed, &c.

ⁱ During the protector's absence in Hainault, whither he had gone to put himself in possession of his wife's dominions, the bishop of Winchester, a man of an ambitious, haughty, and intriguing disposition, and who had the care of the young king; on pretence of some seditious reports having been spread in the capital, took upon himself to reinforce the garrison of the Tower, and give such directions to the governor, that on the duke's return into England admission was denied him to that fortress.

with the most dangerous consequences, and not only occasioned the return of the duke of Bedford from France, but even required the authority of parliament to compose it.^a

On the breaking out of Cade's insurrection in the year 1450, a strong garrison was placed in the Tower under the command of lord Scales,^b assisted by Mathew Gough, a brave and experienced soldier. The forces dispatched under Sir Humfrey Stafford against the rebels, having been defeated at Seven Oaks, the king and his court retired for safety to the castle of Kenilworth; and, with the hope of appeasing these misled people, James lord Say, the treasurer of England, was immediately sent prisoner to the Tower.^c Elated by success, and increasing in numbers, Cade and his followers advanced first to Blackheath, and then to London; and having obtained admission to the city, made a fruitless attempt to besiege the Tower. The first act of violence committed by the rebels after entering the capital was the murder of lord Say, whom they caused to be brought from the Tower^d to Guild-hall, there to be tried before the mayor and some of the king's justices. In vain did this ill-fated nobleman claim the privilege of being tried by his peers: with savages like these, reasoning had but little influence: he was wrested from the officers of justice, and dragged to the standard in Cheapside, where he fell a sacrifice to popular resentment.^e The thirst, however, of these ruffians was not to be satiated with the blood of an only victim: sir James Cromer, sheriff of Kent, whose crime was, probably, no other than being son-in-law to lord Say, was doomed to a similar fate; and his head, with that of the unfortunate peer, being fixed on poles, was carried through the streets of the metropolis with every act of the most shocking and most wanton brutality.

These deeds, with the rapine, plunder, and barbarity, to which the miscreant wretches afterwards gave loose, brought the city to a sense of danger, which the plausible professions of the rebel-chief, and the order maintained among his followers, had at first dispelled. As Cade regularly withdrew at night, and lodged with his followers in

^a Rot. Parl. 4 Hen. VI. Hall. Fabian. Hollinshed. ^b Stow. ^c Ibid.

^d Hist. Croyland. cont. in Hist. Angl. Script. tom. i. p. 526. Hall. Fabian, &c.

^e Hall. Fabian. Stow. Hollinshed.

Southwark, the mayor and chief citizens at length determined to avail themselves of this circumstance; and as soon as the rebels departed, to place a guard upon the bridge, and oppose their future entry to the city.^a In this resolution they were supported by lord Scales, who promised to aid them with the artillery of the Tower, and send a detachment under sir Mathew Gough to their assistance; and, therefore, as soon as the insurgents had retired to their usual resting-place, they assembled in arms, and with sir Mathew at their head, took possession of the bridge. The alarm, however, was soon given, and Cade, with his ruffian-band, hastened to recover by force their lost communication with the city.^b A fierce and bloody contest ensued: at one time the rebels, and at another the citizens yielded the advantage; and the fight continued, without either party being able to get entire possession of the bridge, till nine o'clock on the following morning, being Sunday; when a truce was agreed upon for that day, on condition that neither the citizens nor their enemies should in the mean time pass over the river.^c

In this interval of suspense, the archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, who, with many other persons of distinction, had taken refuge in the Tower, sent for the bishop of Winchester; and after advising with that prelate, framed a general pardon under the great seal, with which they passed over the Thames and caused it to be published in Southwark among the infatuated multitude.^d This happy invention was attended with the good effect of restoring peace and tranquillity to the capital: the rebels, now intimidated by resistance, as much as before they had been elated by success, gladly accepted the boon; deserted their leader, and returned to their respective homes; and a price being set upon the head of Cade, he soon after received the merited reward of his brutality and crimes.

During the memorable contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, there are many circumstances connected with the history of the Tower, which excite peculiar interest. On the news of the landing of the earls of March, Salisbury, and Warwick, from Calais, in 1460, lord Scales was dispatched with the earl of Kendal and lord

^a Hall. Fabian. Stow. Hollinshed.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid.

^d Ibid.

Lovel, and a considerable body of troops for the protection of London;^a but the inhabitants being decidedly in favor of the opposite party, refused their assistance:^b whereupon lord Scales entered the Tower with his forces, and omitted no opportunity to revenge the disloyalty of the citizens;^c but he was shortly afterwards furiously besieged^d there by the earl of Salisbury, lord Cobham, and sir John Wenlock, and very soon after the overthrow of the Lancastrians, and the capture of king Henry at Northampton, the fortress was surrendered to the earl of March.^e

These disasters were shortly followed by a train of events bringing success alternately to the contending parties: the battle of Wakefield terminated the life of the duke of York, and crowned the arms of queen Margaret with a decided victory; but her troops, sent under the earl of Pembroke against Edward, the new possessor of that title, were less fortunate: Pembroke was defeated with great slaughter at Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire, and his army wholly dispersed. Fortune next favored the house of Lancaster; Margaret headed her forces against the earl of Warwick, and in the second battle of St. Albans obtained another victory, and rescued her meek and unfortunate husband, king Henry, from the hands of his enemies. The duke of York, however, was shortly afterwards proclaimed king, and the bloody battle of Towton, which, for the present, proved fatal to the Lancastrian line, established him in an authority to which he had been raised by the partial voice of the people.

The period fixed for Edward's coronation was Sunday the 29th of June, 1461, being St. Peter's day;^f and on the Thursday or Friday preceding, he removed from the palace at Shene to the Tower of London;^g whither he was conducted by the mayor and aldermen, and four hundred citizens, who went out to meet him on horseback,

^a Hall. Stow. Hollinshed.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid.

^d Sir John Wenlock carried on the siege on the eastern side of the fortress, towards St. Catherine's; on the south side artillery was planted on the opposite side of the river; and towards the west the siege was conducted by lord Cobham and certain aldermen of the city.—*Hall and Kennet*, vol. i. p. 422.

^e Hall, Stow, Hollinshed, &c. Previous to its surrender, lord Scales, not chusing to trust himself in the hands of his enemies, left the Tower by water, with the hope of joining the queen; but was almost instantly taken and killed, and his body thrown naked on the bank of the river.

^f Sproti Chron. Polidore Virgil. Fabian, &c.

^g Sproti Chron. p. 288. Fabian.

clad in splendid liveries.^a At the Tower, Edward sumptuously entertained most of the nobility and great men who were favorers of the house of York ; and in the morning preceding that of his coronation, he there made thirty-two new knights of the bath ; who, “ being arrayed in blue gowns with hoods and tokens of white silk upon their shoulders,” rode before him the same afternoon in the splendid procession which was made through the city to Westminster.^b

If a disposition sanguinary and cruel were necessary to secure a throne arrived at through a deluge of blood, Edward was fully qualified to maintain possession of his crown. Whilst his own friends and adherents were loaded with honors and spoils, the favorers of the house of Lancaster were led to prison and to death on the slightest pretences, and almost without the shadow of a trial : executions took place in different parts of the kingdom, and in February, 1462, John earl of Oxford, Aubrey de Vere, his eldest son, sir Thomas Tudenham, and others, were committed to the Tower, on suspicion of holding correspondence with the queen ; and after an arbitrary and unjust trial by martial law, were executed on the adjoining hill.^c

After the battle of Towton, king Henry had fled into Scotland, and lived there in retirement till the year 1464, when another, but unfortunate attempt was made to restore him to his former dignity. The indefatigable queen Margaret, whose mind was too vigorous ever to be subdued by misfortunes, succeeded in collecting a small body of French and Scottish troops, and, being joined by a few remaining friends of their party, this unhappy family once more ventured to appear in England. But their hopes were of short duration. In the battle of Hexham their army was beaten and dispersed, and such of the partisans of the house of Lancaster as were preserved from the slaughter of the field, fell by the axe of the executioner. Margaret herself with her young son, escaped in a most deplorable condition ; and Henry, who awhile evaded the pursuit of his enemies, was at length betrayed into the hands of king Edward. He was conducted ignominiously through the capital^d and lodged in the Tower,^e where

^a Sproti Chron. p. 288. Fabian. ^b Ibid. ^c W. Wyrcestr. p. 492. Hall, Fabian, &c.

^d Stow, p. 419.

^e Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 530. Fabian. Hall. Stow. Fragm. ad finem Sproti, &c.

he remained a prisoner,^a and owed, perhaps, his personal safety more to the mean opinion entertained of his abilities, than to any humanity that existed in the hearts of his adversaries.^b

In the year 1465, lady Elizabeth Gray, king Edward's queen, took up her residence at the Tower previous to the ceremony of her coronation; and on Whitsun-eve, after the making of several new knights of the bath, she proceeded thence in state, through the city to Westminster, where she was crowned on the following day by the archbishop of Canterbury.^c

In the time of king Edward IV. the Tower was more frequently used as a royal residence than it appears to have been for some preceding ages; occasioned, perhaps, by its contiguity to the city, and Edward's wish to cultivate that good will of the Londoners which had been so instrumental in securing his elevation to the throne. He kept his court there in great splendor in 1465, as well as on other occasions;^d and in 1470, during the commotions which led to the temporary subversion of his power, it formed the chief residence of his queen.

The year 1470 is memorable for the sudden revolution brought about by the earl of Warwick, and for the revival of the hopes of the house of Lancaster. That valiant and powerful nobleman, together with the duke of Clarence the king's brother, and the earls of Oxford and Pembroke, who had all previously fled into France, landed at Dartmouth on the 13th of September; and so rapid was the tide of their success, that within the short space of a month, Edward was an exile in a foreign court, and Henry restored to his regal authority! As soon as the progress of the confederates was made known in the capital, the queen, with her children, and a few faithful attendants, secretly departed from the Tower and took sanctuary at Westminster;^e and that fortress being surrendered to the mayor,^f king Henry was delivered from his state of imprisonment, and honorably lodged and attended in the royal apartments.^g When the lords received in-

^a Monstrelet, tom. iii. p. 119.

^b Hume, vol. iii. p. 225.

^c W. Wyrcester. Annales, p. 503. Fabian. Fragm. ad fin. Sproti.

^d Rot. Pat. Claus. temp. Edw. IV.

^e Fabian. Stow, p. 422.

^f Stow, p. 422.

^g Hall. Fabian.

telligence of Edward's flight they directed their course towards London, which they entered in triumph^a in the beginning of October; and shortly afterwards the "duke of Clarence, accompanied by the earls of Warwick and Shrewsbury, lord Stanley, and other lords and gentlemen, resorted with a great company to the Tower, and thence with much pomp brought king Henry VI. apparelled in a long gown of blue velvet, through the high streets of London to the cathedral church of St. Paul, the people on the right hand and on the left, rejoicing and crying, *God save the king!* and, when he had offered as kings used to do, he was conveyed to the bishop's palace, and there kept his household like a king."^b

Thus was king Henry unexpectedly delivered from the recesses of a prison, and restored once more to his throne. But how short-lived was his comfort. The treacherous hand of fortune raised him from his forlorn condition only to plunge him into an abyss of still greater affliction—to bereave him of every hope, and to accomplish his evil destiny. Edward returned from his momentary exile and regained the crown with a celerity almost equal to that with which he lost it: he marched without interruption to London; the citizens declared in his favor; the Tower was recovered to his use,^c and his unfortunate rival again falling into his hands a prisoner, was conveyed in his train to Barnet,^d to witness the carnage of his friends.

After the fatal victory gained over the Lancastrians at Barnet, on Easter Sunday, 1471, Henry was reconducted to his place of confinement in the Tower,^e there to close his days; and Edward, having committed that fortress to the charge of Anthony, earl of Rivers,^f and left the queen and her children there for security, directed his course towards Margaret, who in the mean time had landed with her son at Weymouth. The parties met in the ever-memorable field of Tewksbury; and there were annihilated the last hopes of the house of Lancaster, and Edward established in the peaceable possession of his throne. Young Edward being taken, was barbarously murdered; and his mother, the great but ill-fated Margaret, also falling into the

^a Hist. Croyland. cont. in Hist. Angl. Script. tom. i. p. 554.

^b Hall.

^c Hollinshed.

^d Hall. Fabian. Hollinshed.

^e Fabian. Hollinshed.

^f Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 556.

hands of her enemies, was led a prisoner to the dreaded fortress which contained her hapless husband.*

After this victory, king Edward returned to London, which he entered in triumph on the 21st of May; and we are not only told that his harmless rival was found dead the next day, in his prison in the Tower, but that it was the general opinion that he expired under the hands of the duke of Gloucester. Such is the report of writers who flourished in the following age;^b and although formed, perhaps, on no better authority than the rumors and prejudices of the times, their stories have been received and enlarged upon by almost every subsequent historian, with little or no regard to the foundations on which they rest. If, indeed, Henry had closed his days on the very night after Edward's arrival in London, the concurrence of circumstances might have been looked upon as favoring the suspicion that his death was violent: but this does not appear to have been the case;^c and even if it had, is it likely that Gloucester, a youth of only eighteen years of age, would have been commissioned as an assassin; or, without any possible object on his own part, would have voluntarily imbrued his hands in the blood of a man towards whom he had no cause of hatred, but, on the contrary, evinced every mark of reverence? A better opportunity, however, will hereafter occur for a minute examination of this subject;^d and till then it may be left with this cursory observation, that although it will, perhaps, ever remain doubtful whether Henry came to a natural or violent death, there certainly has never yet been discovered any evidence, whereon to found an accusation against the duke of Gloucester. Henry's corpse was conveyed solemnly from the Tower to St. Paul's, where it lay for some time, to satisfy the people of his death, and was thence taken to Chertsey to be buried.^e

It was not long after these occurrences that the Tower became the scene of a less disputed tragedy. After the prominent part which the impetuous temper of the duke of Clarence had induced him to take in the late rebellion, there never, perhaps, existed any real cordiality

* Hume, vol. iii. p. 250. Henry, vol. ix. p. 222.

^b Hist. Croyland. cont. Fabian. Sir T. More. Hall, &c.

^c Vide Rymer, tom. xi. p. 712.

^d See the account of Distinguished Prisoners, in Part II.

^e Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 556. Hall. Fabian.

betwixt him and his brother; and this being fomented by the queen and her relations, it was not long before Edward found an opportunity to sacrifice all the finer feelings of nature to his thirst for vengeance.

In 1478, this unfortunate prince was committed to the Tower, and on very trivial charges was attainted and condemned for high treason. His trial took place on the 16th of January, 1478, and Henry duke of Buckingham having been specially appointed high steward of England, to carry his sentence into execution,^a he was privately put to death in the Tower^b on the eighth of March; and, if we may believe the accounts of historians who lived in that and the following age, his destiny was accomplished by drowning in a butt of Malmsey.^c

Edward himself did not long survive this unnatural proceeding against his brother: He died on the 9th of April, 1483, and this brings us to a train of events the most interesting, but, at the same time, the most obscured, perplexing, and uncertain in all our narrative—the succession of Edward V.—the appointment of the duke of Gloucester as protector—the young king's being lodged in the Tower—the execution of lord Hastings, the earl of Rivers, lord Grey, and others—the accession of Richard—and the final disappearance of his two nephews from their prison in the Tower. General history, however, does not afford that scope for inquiry, consideration, and argument, into which one would be necessarily led in attempting to develop so intricate and important a question; and I shall, therefore, here content myself with a relation of events as they are detailed by our early authorities, leaving a minute examination of their authenticity, and of the conclusions which have been drawn from them, till a future occasion,^d should any material circumstances hereafter present themselves to throw light on a subject so frequently controverted, yet still enveloped in so much obscurity. To proceed therefore in our object. Prince Edward, a youth of between twelve and thirteen years of age, was proclaimed king in London on the day of his father's death. He was at that time under the care of his uncle, An-

^a Rot. Parl. vol. vi. p. 195.

^b Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 572.

^c Fabian. Sir Thomas More. Hall. Grafton. Stow.

^d See the account of Distinguished Prisoners, in Part II.

thony earl of Rivers, at the castle of Ludlow, in Shropshire,^a and the queen and her friends, probably with a view to secure to themselves the regency, seem to have been desirous of raising an army to escort her son to London; but meeting with opposition, particularly from lord Hastings, the number of the young monarch's retinue was limited to two thousand.^b Richard duke of Gloucester, brother to the late king, being engaged in the north of England when he received intelligence of Edward's decease, immediately wrote letters to the queen, not only expressive of his friendship for her, but his fidelity and attachment to the young king;^c and, on coming to York, he set all the nobility and gentry of those parts an example by being the first to swear fealty to his nephew.^d He evinced every symptom of respectful grief for his brother's death; and, himself and all his retinue in mourning,^e proceeded from York to Northampton, where he was met by the duke of Buckingham; and the young king having at the same time arrived at Stony-Stratford, he sent the earl of Rivers, Richard lord Grey, and others to the duke his uncle, to submit every thing to his judgment and direction.^f On their first coming they were received by Richard with every appearance of friendship,^g and they spent the evening together in all the pleasantry and mirth which were common to the ages of chivalry: but the scene was soon changed: on the arrival of the whole party the next day at Stony-Stratford, the earl of Rivers, lord Grey, sir Thomas Vaughan, and sir Richard Hawse, were all put under arrest, and sent off to the castle of Pomfret.^h

These proceedings took place on the thirtieth of April,ⁱ and, the rumor of them having reached London the following night, the queen took sanctuary with her younger son the duke of York, and the rest of her children, at Westminster,^k and the whole capital presented a scene of the most awful confusion.^l After a few days the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham conducted the young king to London and lodged him in the bishop's palace; where all the lords spiritual and temporal, and the mayor and aldermen of the city took the oath of fealty.^m The young monarch was conveyed in a royal

^a Sir T. More, in *vita regis*, Edw. V.

^b Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 565.

^c Ibid.

^d Ibid.

^e Ibid.

^f Ibid.

^g Ibid.

^h Ibid. Fabian. More.

ⁱ Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 565.

^k Ibid. Fabian. More.

^l Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 566. More.

^m Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 566.

manner; and as he entered the capital, the duke of Gloucester shewed him every mark of subjection, riding before and calling upon the people to *Behold their king*.^a What subsequently occurred in London is not so satisfactorily detailed to us: it is clear, however, that the council soon afterwards appointed Gloucester to the office of protector,^b and agreed that the king should be removed from the bishop's palace, and take up his residence in the Tower.^c The 23rd of June was finally decided upon as the day on which the young monarch should be crowned;^d preparations were also made for that ceremony,^e and by letters, dated the 5th of June, fifty young gentlemen of family, who were intended to be made knights of the bath, as was customary on those occasions, were required to be in attendance upon the king in the Tower, four days previous to his coronation.^f

It should, therefore, seem, that as late as the 5th of June, Richard really had entertained no idea of thrusting his nephew from the throne, or else deemed it prudent to make the world believe so. But affairs very soon afterwards assumed a different aspect: the council frequently met, part of it at Westminster, and part at the Tower;^g and on Friday the thirteenth of June, as the protector, the duke of Buckingham, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, lord Stanley, lord Hastings, and others, were deliberating in the council-chamber in the Tower, a cry of treason was raised in the adjoining apartment,^h and Gloucester hastily rising from his seat and going to the door, a party of armed men rushed in, arrested the two prelates, lord Stanley and lord Hastings; and, by the protector's command, the latter was almost instantly led to execution:ⁱ he was taken into the court-

^a Sir. T. More.

^b Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 566.

^c Ibid.

^d Ibid.

^e A letter, dated at London on the ninth of June, says, "As for tydyngs seyns I wrote to youe we her non newe. Ye Quene kepys styll at Westm' my lord of Yorke, my lord of Salysbury, w^t othyr mo, wyche wyll nott departe as zytte. Wher so evyr kanne be founde any godyse of my lord Markues it is tayne. Ye priore of Westm' wasse & zytt is in a gret trobyll for certeyne godys delyverd to hym by my lord markques. My lord protector, my lord of Bukyngham w^t all othyr lordys as wele temporale as spirituale wer at Westm' in ye counceyl chamber from x. to ij. butt yer wass none y^t spake w^t ye qwene. Yer is gret besyness ageyns ye coronacion, wyche schal be y^e day fortnyght as we sey; when I trust ze wylbe at London & yen schall ze knowe all ye world. Ye kyng is at ye toure. My lady of Glocestre came to London on thorsday last."

^f Rymer, tom. xii. p. 185.

^g Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 566. More.

^h Fabian. Sir T. More.

ⁱ Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 566. Fabian. More.

yard of the Tower, and, "without judgment or long time for confession or repentance," was beheaded in front of the chapel, on a piece of timber which accidentally lay there, for repairing some of the buildings of the fortress;^a and this done, the primate, and the bishop of Ely, together with lord Stanley, who, by the bye, according to Fabian and More, had received a serious knock on the head in the scuffle, were confined in separate prisons in the Tower.^b

The news of these sudden proceedings having spread and caused great confusion in the city, Gloucester sent forth a proclamation to quiet the minds of the people,^c and on the Monday following, being the 16th of June, the queen, who still remained with her children in sanctuary at Westminster, was prevailed upon by the persuasions of the archbishop of Canterbury, to give up the duke of York, to be taken to his brother in the Tower.^d

^a Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 566. Fabian. More.

^b Fabian. More.

^c Sir Thomas More.—This writer relates many other particulars concerning these memorable proceedings, but he appears to have been too fond of the marvellous: his narrative is certainly very highly wrought, but it misplaces some occurrences, misrepresents others, and contains some things which seem so palpably false and ridiculous, that one is puzzled to know what to give credit to. He tells us that the execution of the earl of Rivers, lord Grey, and sir Thomas Vaughan, at Pomfret, which no doubt took place at some time, happened on the very day that Hastings was beheaded in the Tower; but the historian of Croyland, whose authority is very far better than that of sir Thomas, gives it a much later date, and in this he is borne out by the silence of the following letter, which speaks particularly of the transactions of this period.—*See Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 567.*

^d Sir Thomas More describes this as having taken place immediately after the king's being brought to London; but the historian of Croyland dates it the 16th of June, and his testimony is fully confirmed by a letter, written at "London ye xxj. day of June," which says, "for tydyngs I hold you happy that ye ar oute of the prese for w^t huse is myche trobull & every manne dowtes other. as on fryday last was the lord Chamberleyn hedded sone apone noon. On monday last was at Westm^r gret plenty of harnest men. ther was the dylyveraunce of the dewke of Yorke to my lord cardenale, my lord chaunceler, & other many lords temporale. and w^t hym mett my lord of Bukyngham in the myddes of the hall of Westm^r, my lord protectour recevyng hym at the Starre Chamber dore with many lovyng wordys, & so departed w^t my lord cardenale to the toure, wher he is, blessed be Jhesu, mery. The lord Liele is come to my lord protectour and awates apone hym. Yt is thought ther schalbe xx thousand of my lord protectour and my lord of Bukyngham men in London this weike, to what intent I knowe note but to kep the peas. My lord haith myche besynes & more then he is content w^t all, yf any other ways wold be tayne. the lord arsbyschop of Yorke, the byshop of Ely ar zit in the toure w^t master Oliver Kyng. Yer ar men in ther place for sure kepyng and I suppose y^t yer schall be sente menne of my lord protectors to yeis lordys placz in y^e countre. They ar not lyke to come out of ward sytt. As soe feste he is in hold, and mene fer hys lyffe. Mastres Chore [Jane Shore] is in prisone; what schall happyne hyr I knowe nott. I pray y^e pardone me of mor wrytyng I ame so seke y^e

These transactions afford us the first indication of Richard's design of taking possession of the throne—a design which he carried into effect partly by making it appear that he had a right, in consequence of the illegitimacy of his brother's children,^a and partly through the influence and baseness of a man whom Richard himself afterwards termed the “falsest traitour living”—the duke of Buckingham. Doctor Shaw prepared the minds of the people for these unexpected changes by a sermon delivered at St. Paul's cross,^b on Sunday the 22nd of June; on Tuesday the 24th, Buckingham harangued the citizens on Gloucester's right to the crown;^c and, having succeeded in obtaining their voice in his favor, the protector assumed the dignity of king on Thursday the 26th,^d and was proclaimed on the following day.

Having thus cleared his way to the throne, and Sunday the 6th of July being appointed for the ceremony of his coronation, Richard came by water to the Tower on the Friday preceding, with his consort and a splendid retinue; and there, as we are told,^e he created his son, prince of Wales; lord John Howard was raised to the dignity of duke of Norfolk, and his son, sir Thomas Howard, to that of earl of Surrey; William lord Berkley was created earl of Nottingham, and

I may nott wel hold my penne, & Jhesu preserve y^e.” In a postscript the writer adds, “All y^e lord chamberleyne mene be come my lordys of Bokyngham mene.” This letter, and that from which an extract is given in a preceding page, were written by the same person, addressed to the Right Hon. Sir William Stonor, knt.; and, as I discovered them among the records in the Tower, tied up with a large quantity of that gentleman's private papers, which bore no signs of having, perhaps ever, been opened, it is presumed they have never before been made public.

^a It was shewn that previous to Edward's marriage with lady Elizabeth Gray, he had been contracted to lady Eleanor Butler, and consequently that his issue by that marriage was illegitimate.—“Ostendebatur per modum supplicationis in quodam rotulo pergameni, quod filii Regis Edwardi erant bastardi, supponendo illum præcontraxisse cum quadam dominâ Alienora Boteler antequam reginam Elizabeth duxisset in uxorem; atque insuper, quod sanguis alterius fratris sui, Georgii ducis Clarentiæ, fuisset attinctus, ita quod hodie nullus certus et incorruptus sanguis linealis ex parte Richardi ducis Eboraci poterit inveniri, nisi in personâ dicti Richardi ducis Gloucestriæ. Quocirca supplicabatur ei in fine ejusdem rotuli, ex parte dominorum et communitatis regni, ut jus suum in se assumeret.—*Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 567.* See also Rot. Parl. 1 Rich. III. *Mémoires de Commynes, tom. i. p. 437, 497.* Sir T. More, &c.

^b Fabian. More.

^c Ibid.

^d *Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 566.*—More misplaces all these facts; and tells us that Richard took his regal title on the 19th.

^e Hall and Grafton.—It should seem, however, that with regard to the king's son, and lord Howard, they are incorrect; the former was afterwards created prince of Wales, at York, and the latter had received the title of duke of Norfolk some time before. See Rymer, tom. xii. p. 191, 200.

Francis lord Lovel was made viscount Lovel and the king's chamberlain; he also released the archbishop of York and lord Stanley from prison, and made seventeen new knights of the bath; and on the following day he proceeded with great pomp through the city to Westminster to receive the crown and scepter of his kingdom.^a

It is observable that at this solemnity the concourse of nobility and others was unusually great: in the procession from the Tower there were three dukes, nine earls, and twenty-two barons, besides knights and esquires;^b and one most remarkable circumstance is, that preparations were actually made for prince Edward to have attended his uncle's coronation; as appears from the wardrobe account for the year 1483; wherein among other deliveries made for that ceremony, is an entry of the following things for "lord Edward, son of the late king Edward the Fourth, for his apparel and array, that is to say, a short gowne made of two yards and three quarters of crymsyn cloth of gold, lyned with two yards and three quarters of blac velvet; a long gowne made of vi. yards and a half of crymsyn cloth of gold lynned with six yards of green damask; a shorte gowne made of two yards $\frac{1}{2}$ of purpel velvett, lyned with two yards $\frac{1}{2}$ of green damask; a doublett and stomacher made of two yards of blac satyn," &c. "besydes two foot cloths, a bonet of purple velvet, nine horse-harness and nine saddle housings of blue velvet, gilt spurs, with many other rich articles, and magnificent apparel for his henghmen and pages."^c Whether the young prince really did attend on that occasion must, perhaps, ever remain a secret; though the silence of history on the subject affords a presumptive proof that he did not: it seems clear, however, that his appearance was once intended.

Having conducted Richard through all the bloodshed, confusion, and ceremony attending his advancement to the throne, we must now proceed with our narrative. The two young princes still remained "under suer kepyng within the Tower," and their uncle, king Richard, soon after his coronation, made a progress through Ox-

^a Hall. Grafton.

^b Grafton.—The duke of Buckingham appeared in great splendour, his habit and caparison being of blue velvet embroidered with gold, and the trappings of his horse were supported by footmen in rich and costly dresses, "in such solemn fashion that all men much regarded it."—Hall.

^c Walpole's *Historic Doubts*, pp. 65, 66. *Archaeologia*, vol. i. pp. 363, 367.

ford, Gloucester, Warwick, and Coventry, and so northward through Pontefract to York, where he is said to have been a second time crowned, within the metropolitan church in that city.^a During this absence from London, the people of the south and western parts of the kingdom began to murmur; insurrections were plotted, and it was privately talked of that some of the daughters of the late king Edward ought to be secretly conveyed abroad out of the sanctuary at Westminster, lest any thing should happen to their two brothers in the Tower:^b this, however, was no sooner known than a strong guard was set over the place, to preclude the possibility of their escape;^c and it was shortly afterwards publicly rumored that the two young princes had ended their days in the Tower.^d Many, but unsatisfactory accounts are given us of this catastrophe. The historian of Croyland Abbey, for whose authority we may safely entertain great veneration, says, "*divulgatum est dictos regis Edwardi pueros, quo genere violenti interitus ignoratur, decessisse in fata.*" Fabian, the next English writer, both as to date and authority, tells us, on Richard's accession, that "the prynce, or of ryght kinge Edward V., with his broder the duke of Yorke, were put under suer kepyng within the Tower, in suche wyse that they never came abroad after." And he afterwards states, that "the common fame went that kynge Richarde hadde within the Tower put unto secrete deth the ii. sones of his broder Edward the iii. for the whiche, and other causes hadde within the brest of the duke of Buckyngham, the sayd duke, in secrete maner, conspyred agayne hym, and allyed hym with dyverse gentylemen, to the ende to bryng his purpose aboute." Philip de Commines, a contemporary French writer, speaking of Richard,^e says in one place, "*fist mourir ses deux nepheux, et se fist roy appelle Richard;*" and in another page^f repeats that the duke of Gloucester, "*qui s'estoit fait roy d'Engleterre avoit fait mourir les deux filz du roy Edouard son frere.*" The scantiness of these particulars are compensated by the bold and fruitful genius of sir Thomas More: that historian wrote at a period of about five and twenty years afterwards, and has been followed by almost all our modern historians, apparently without the slightest regard to the truth or falsehood of his

^a Hist. Croyland. cont. p. 567.^b Ibid.^c Ibid.^d Idem. p. 568.^e Chronique de Commines, edit. Paris, 1539, liv. 1. feuil. ccxx.^f Idem. f. ccliii.

assertions. He does not hesitate to tell us that the young princes actually were murdered in the Tower; and he calls upon us to believe the following marvellous story as to the mode in which that horrid deed was accomplished.

“King Richard,” says sir Thomas, “after his coronation, taking his way to Glocester, to visit in his new honour, the town of which he bore the name of old, devised as he rode to fulfil that thing which he had before intended. And forasmuch as his mind gave him that, his nephews living, men would not reckon that he could have right to the realm, he thought therefore without delay to rid them; as though killing of his kinsmen might end his cause and make him kindly kyng. Whereupon he sent John Grene, whom he specially trusted, unto sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower, with a letter and credence also, that the same sir Robert in any wise should put the two children to death. This John Grene did his errand to Brakenbury, kneeling before our Lady in the Tower, who plainly answered that he would never put them to death to die therefore. With which answer Grene returned, recounting the same to king Richard at Warwick, yet on his journey; wherewith he took such displeasure and thought that the same night he said to a secret page of his: *Ah! whom shall a man trust: they that I have brought up myself, they that I thought would have mostly surely served me, even those fail, and at my commandment will do nothing for me.* Sir, quoth the page, *there lieth one in the palet chamber without, that I dare well say, to do your grace pleasure the thing were right hard that he would refuse;* meaning by this sir James Tyrell, who was a man of goodly personage, and for the gifts of nature, worthy to have served a better prince, if he had well served God, and, by grace, obtained as much truth and good will as he had strength and wit. The man had a high heart and sore longed upward, not rising yet so fast as he had hoped, being hindered and kept under by sir Richard Ratcliffe and sir William Catesby.” Whereupon “king Richard rose and came out into the palet chamber, where he found sir James Tyrell in bed, with sir Thomas Tyrell, of person like and brethren of blood, but nothing of kyn in conditions. Then said the king to them merrily, *what sirs, be ye in bed so soon?* and calling sir James Tyrell up, brake to him secretly his mind

in this mischievous matter, in the which he found him to his purpose nothing strange. Wherefore on the morrow he sent him to Brakenbury with a letter, by which he was commanded to deliver to sir James all the keys of the Tower for a night, to the end that he might there accomplish the king's pleasure in such things as he had given him in commandment." Sir Thomas then proceeds to tell us, that as soon as the protector assumed the title of king, young Edward and his brother the duke of York had been placed under rigid confinement; that all their attendants had been removed from them;^a that a fellow called Black Will had been set to serve them, and four others to see them sure; and that, after that time, "the prince never tied his points, nor any thing thought of himself, but with that young babe his brother lingered in thought and heaviness, till this traitorous deed delivered them from their wretchedness." "Sir James Tyrell devised that they should be murdered in their beds, and no blood shed: to the execution whereof he appointed Miles Forest, one of the four that before kept them, a fellow flesh-bred in murder before time; and to him he joined one John Dighton his own horse-keeper, a big broad square and strong knave." "Then all the other being removed from them, this Miles Forest and John Dighton about midnight, came into the chamber and suddenly wrapped them up amongst the clothes, keeping down by force the feather bed and pillows hard upon their mouths, that within awhile they smothered and stifled them, and their breaths failing, they gave up to God their innocent souls into the joys of heaven, leaving to their tormentors their bodies dead in bed; after which the wretches laid them out upon the bed, and fetched Tyrell to see them, and when he was satisfied of their death he caused the murderers to bury them at the stair foot meetly deep in the ground under a great heap of stones."^b

Sir James having thus fulfilled his task, "rode in great haste to king Richard and shewed him all the manner of the murder, who gave him great thanks, and, as men say, there made him knight; but he allowed not their burial in so vile a corner, saying he would have them buried in a better place, because they were a king's sons. Where-

^a How does this agree with the coronation account roll?—see page 57.

^b See the account of the Bloody-Tower, in Section II. of this Part.

upon a priest of sir Robert Brakenbury's took them up and buried them in such secrecy as by the occasion of his death, which was very shortly after, no one knew it."

Such is the account given us by sir Thomas More; but, without being sceptical, without appearing as the advocates of Richard, or risking an opinion on the ultimate fate of the two princes, let us examine the probability of this amusing story. First then, we are told, that while on his progress, and just after leaving London, Richard dispatched a messenger from Gloucester to Brakenbury, the lieutenant of the Tower; commanding him to put his two nephews to death, which he refused to do! Is this probable? Would a deep, discerning, and politic man have sent such instructions without knowing how they would be received? Would he have hazarded such a message, which if, either by accident or by design, had been exposed, would have blasted his name for ever, would have set the whole country in rebellion, and most likely, have cost him his crown and life? Would he not rather personally have sounded and instructed Brakenbury previous to his leaving London? or, if he had been so rash, was it Richard's character to have brooked a refusal from a person on whom he had heaped offices and honors?^a Would he have continued him in the command of the Tower, and granted him other favors?^b Would he not rather have treated him as he had already done Hastings and others? Or, supposing he could have overlooked this refusal, would Brakenbury, who had the honor and spirit to disobey such a mandate, have continued faithful? Would he have fought and died in his cause at the field of Bosworth? Would he not have despised the wretch from whose soul such a thought could emanate? And would he not have felt insulted, and have hated and spurned the man that could have deemed him capable of such a crime? But this is not all: would Richard have been so weak and unguarded as to have made a confidant of a mere page at Warwick? Is this like a man close and secret, a deep dissimulator, as we are told he was?^c

^a Besides making him lieutenant of the Tower, he had given the office of master of the mint, &c.—*Brevia sub privato sigillo*, 1 Rich. III. in Turr. Lond.

^b He afterwards made him constable of the Tower, gave him the office of keeper of the lions, &c.—*Ibid.*

^c Sir T. More, in *vita regis Edwardi V.*

Would he not have been personally acquainted with Tyrell's nature, and have privately broached the subject to him without the intervention of a servant? For Tyrell's situation was not that in which sir Thomas More represents him: he was of an ancient and high family; had long before received the honor of knighthood, and enjoyed the office of master of the horse. But supposing we admit that Tyrell was sent to perpetrate this horrid deed, would Brakenbury have delivered to him the keys of the Tower, as is pretended, without a formal warrant to justify him in so serious a transaction? And has ever any trace of such a document been discovered?^a—Never. It has been anxiously sought for, but sought in vain: and we may, therefore, conclude, that sir Thomas More's is nothing but one of the passing tales of the day; and we may believe that if the young princes were destroyed in the Tower, Brakenbury must have been instrumental in their murder, and have acted in obedience to instructions given to him personally by Richard, previous to his departure from London. But we find that very strong doubts were entertained, even in the reign of king Henry the Seventh, whether the children had been put to death or not: we know too, that in Richard's time a conspiracy for carrying them abroad was detected:^b we are also told that a design was afterwards entertained of getting some of their

^a The following very forcible argument has been raised to demonstrate the impossibility of More's account being true, in consequence of the short space of time occupied in the king's progress from London to York. It appears that he was at Westminster on Sunday the last day of August, and had arrived at York on the seventh of September, the day preceding his second coronation. As he staid at Windsor, Oxford, and Woodstock on his way, he did not reach Gloucester till the third of September; resuming his journey on Thursday, he passed through Worcester and arrived at Warwick the same evening; and thence proceeding through Coventry and Leicester, he came on Friday to Nottingham, on Saturday to Pontefract, and on Sunday to York. Green, then, if dispatched from, or on the road to Gloucester, had not time to return to London on Wednesday, execute his commission to Brakenbury, and rejoin the king at Warwick: nor could Tyrell, if dispatched from Warwick early on Friday morning, have arrived at the Tower before Saturday, nor perpetrate the murder before midnight; and departing from London on Sunday morning, could not have rejoined his master on the road before his arrival that evening at York; where he officiated next day in his capacity of master of the horse; thus he and Green performing two consecutive journeys of five hundred miles in four days, and these with the interruption of two nights and the day preparatory and previous to the murder. Such journeys may be accomplished in these days, but it is contended that, in the fifteenth century, with bad roads and before the establishment of regular posts, it was not possible.—*See the Appendix to Henry's History of Britain*, vol. xii. p. 421. and *Carte's History*, vol. xi. p. 816.

^b More. Stowe.

sisters out of sanctuary^a in disguise, and conveying them for protection to some foreign country; and More himself admits, that "the deaths and final fortunes of the two young princes nevertheless so far came in question, that some remained long in doubt whether they were in Richard's days destroyed or no." Nor does he stand alone: "In vulgus fama valeret, filios Edwardi regis, aliquo terrarum secreto migrasse, atque ibi superstites esse," says Polidore Virgil.^b Hall also writes "that the fame went, and many surely supposed king Edward's children not to be dead, but to be fled secretly to some strange place and there to be living;" and lord Bacon, speaking of Henry the Seventh's accession, says, "Neither wanted there even at this time, secret rumors and whisperings, which afterwards gathered strength and turned to great trouble, that the two sons of king Edward IV. or one of them, which were said to be destroyed in the Tower, were not indeed murdered, but were conveyed secretly away, and were yet living.—And all this time it was still whispered every where that at least one of the children was living."

Those who have been most forward to blacken the memory of Richard have advanced, as an additional argument against him, the discovery of some bones, resembling those of two children, at the foot of the staircase leading to the chapel in the White Tower: but, in fairness, little or no reliance should be placed on this circumstance; for so many and so contradictory are the statements respecting the burial of these young princes, that bones found at one time in an uninhabited turret, were regarded as the remains of one of them; although it afterwards turned out that they were the limbs of an old ape that had clambered up there and died! It is also a very general opinion that the building called the *Bloody-Tower*, received its appellation from the circumstance of the children having been *stifled* in it; and it is commonly and confidently asserted that the bones were found under a staircase there; yet both of these stories seem wholly without foundation.^c

Such is the conflicting testimony on which this mysterious but interesting subject rests. It must be admitted that, at the first view, appearances are much against Richard; but it is worthy of remark,

^a Hist. Croyland, cont. p. 567.

^b p. 569.

^c See the account of the *Bloody-Tower*, in Section II.

that almost all that has been advanced against him was written in the succeeding reign—a period when popular prejudice was incited to the highest degree against his memory;* and when, perhaps, nothing could with safety have been recorded in his favor. The execution of lord Hastings cannot be denied by his warmest advocates, though we are in total ignorance as to what were the circumstances which led to that sudden, extraordinary, and cruel act. That Richard also ordered the death of the earl of Rivers, lord Grey, and others at Pomfret, will not admit of doubt; but there are some circumstances which may be looked upon as throwing a shade over the guilt of that transaction: Rivers and other of the queen's relations had unquestionably procured the attainder and death of the unhappy Clarence; they had concerted measures for retaining the person of the young king, and possessing themselves of the administration; and, with a view to promote these designs, the marquis of Dorset, who was constable of the Tower when Edward the Fourth died, had not only taken steps to secure that fortress, but had there possessed himself of the royal treasures, arms, and other necessities for the equipment of a fleet, and furthering the object of their united ambition. Whether Richard be rightly accused of that vile and unnatural crime, the murder of his nephews, will, it is feared, never be satisfactorily elucidated; though that implicit belief of his guilt so generally entertained by the world does not appear to be justified by the indecisive and prejudiced evidence whereon this judgment has been founded. If, however, Richard were the horrid character that he is represented, it is a gratification to know that heaven did not long permit him to enjoy the fruits of his wickedness, and that he fell a victim to his lawless passions.

Richard having fallen in the battle of Bosworth, and his fortunate rival ascended the throne, one of the first acts of Henry's government was to secure the person of Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick, son of the late duke of Clarence. He had been long detained a prisoner in the castle of Sheriff Hoton in Yorkshire, and thence he was conveyed, under the charge of sir Robert Willoughby, to the

* We may select from many others the following ridiculous example: "Richard the tyrant, who had remained two years in his mother's womb, was born at Fotheringey on the feast of eleven thousand virgins, with long hair and his teeth complete!"—*Rous. p. 214.*

Tower of London; where he finally became a victim to Henry's jealousy; as his sister, the countess of Salisbury, afterwards did to that of king Henry the Eighth:^a and thus, by the hands of the executioner, fell the last male, of whole blood, of the royal line of Plantagenet.^b

Although king Henry the Seventh had married the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward the Fourth, shortly after his elevation to the throne, he delayed the solemnity of her coronation, lest it should seem that his title to the throne rested on his matrimonial connexion. She was crowned at Westminster, by Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, to the great joy and satisfaction of the people, on Sunday, the 25th of November, 1487; and on the Friday preceding, "royally apparelled, and accompanied with my ladie the king's mother, and many other great estates, both lords and ladies, richely besene, came forward to the coronacion; and, at their coming forth from Greenwich by water, there was attending upon her there, the maior, sherifes, and aldermen of the citie, and divers and many wurshipfull comoners, chosen out of every craft, in their liveries, in barges freshly furnished with banners and streamers of silke richely beaton with the armes and badges of their craftes; and especially a barge called the bachelor's barge, wherin were many gentlemanlie pagiaunts, well and curiously devised to do her highness sporte and pleasoure with."^c And thus the queen came by water from Greenwich and landed at the Tower, where she was received by the king, attended by the nobility and all the great officers of state, and of the royal household. She was conducted to the royal apartments, where their majesties lodged, and, according to the custom of ancient times, "kept open household and frank resort" for all the court.

On the morrow her majesty proceeded from the Tower, in state, through the city to Westminster. She was apparelled in white cloth of gold, and "her fayre yelow heare," flowing loosely down her back, was adorned with a circlet of gold and precious stones. The occasion was one peculiarly gratifying to the people, and the

^a The venerable Margaret countess of Salisbury, the last of entire blood, of the royal line of Plantagenet, was beheaded in the Tower in 1541, with circumstances of peculiar cruelty, after a long imprisonment.—*See the Account of Distinguished Prisoners.*

^b See the Account of Distinguished Prisoners, Part II.

^c Ives's Coronacion of Queene Elizabeth, p. 120.

citizens rivalled each other in evincing their joy and affection. The streets through which the procession was to pass were cleansed, and dressed with tapestry and arras, and some were hung with cloth of gold, velvet, and silk; and from the Tower to St. Paul's stood in order all the companies of London in their liveries; "and in divers places of the citie were ordeynid singing children, some arrayed like angelles, and others like virgins, to sing sweete songes as her grace passed by."^a

In the year 1494, after keeping his Christmas at Westminster, king Henry removed with his council to the Tower, and there sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, was impeached before him of high treason; for favoring the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck. He was accused by sir Robert Clifford of having said, that *if he were sure that that young man were king Edward's son, he would never bear arms against him*; and, although sir William had been one of Henry's best and most faithful supporters, that cold-blooded and avaricious tyrant had him arraigned on this paltry charge, and being found guilty, he was beheaded on Tower-hill.^b

Among the distinguished persons who were at various times confined prisoners in the Tower during the reign of king Henry the Seventh, was that unfortunate youth, who is known in history by the name of Perkin Warbeck; but who appeared in the character of Richard duke of York, and by his plausible pretensions to the crown of England, as the son of the late king Edward the Fourth, proved a source of so much disquietude to Henry's reign. After experiencing many vicissitudes and mortifications he was lodged prisoner in the Tower, in the year 1498;^c and being shortly afterwards accused of plotting his escape from confinement, was found guilty, and hanged at Tyburn, on the twenty-third of November in the following year.^d

In 1501, king Henry the Seventh held a splendid tournament in the Tower, and during his reign that fortress was frequently used as a royal residence, particularly by the queen, to whom it occasionally served as a retreat from the society of her sullen and cold-hearted husband; and it was there she died. Having been brought to bed there of a daughter, on the second of February, 1503, she lived but

^a Ives's Coronacion of Queene Elizabeth, p. 120. ^b Lord Bacon, in Kennet, vol. i. p. 610.

^c Hall. Hollinshed.

^d See the Account of Distinguished Prisoners, Part II.

a few days afterwards: she was buried at Westminster;^a and her infant, who was christened in the Tower by the name of Catherine, did not long survive her.^b

King Henry the Seventh died on the 21st of April, 1509, at his favorite palace on the bank of the Thames, to which he had given the name of Richmond; and on the following day his son and successor, the eighth of that name, retired with a few confidential friends to the Tower of London, where he remained in great privacy till after his father's burial, and it was there that he formed that wise and excellent council that guided his early years, and gained for him the love and admiration of his subjects.

The commencement of Henry's reign was marked by an act of seeming severity, if not injustice. His father is known to have been a mercenary and avaricious prince, and the clamours of the people being raised against Epsom and Dudley, the principal instruments in his oppressions, they were both committed to the Tower immediately on his son's accession, and finally sacrificed to popular resentment. Conscious that what they had done in obedience to their sovereign's mandates could not be brought against them as crimes, they were charged, on other grounds, with high treason; and the cruel policy of state outweighing, perhaps, the considerations of justice, they were found guilty; and being afterwards attainted by parliament, ended their days upon the scaffold.^c

In the beginning of June, Henry's marriage with his first wife, Catherine of Arragon, was solemnized at Greenwich, and thence the royal pair afterwards removed with a numerous and splendid court to the Tower, preparatory to their coronation.^d Sunday the 24th of June was appointed for that ceremony; and the provisions made for the occasion were of the most magnificent and expensive nature. On the 23rd, the king being then with the queen in the Tower, made twenty-four new knights of the bath, and the next day their majesties proceeded through the city to Westminster, surrounded with a display of all that gorgeous and costly pageantry which soon became the prevailing taste and fashion of the age. The citizens charmed as usual with the splendors of a coronation, decorated their

^a Hollinshed. Bacon.

^b Ibid.

^c See the Account of Distinguished Prisoners, Part II.

^d Hall. Stow. Hollinshed.

houses with cloth of gold and other expensive hangings; the streets were lined with the different companies apparelled in their gowns, and the people manifested their joy by loud and unmingled acclamations. The procession, which began from the Tower in the afternoon, was led by two gentlemen on horseback, richly clad, bearing the ensigns of Guien and Normandy;^a then came two others who bore the king's hat and cloak, and, immediately before his majesty, rode sir Thomas Brandon, the master of the horse, apparelled in tissue, embroidered with roses of fine gold, and

“ A golden baldrike o'er his shoulder ty'd,
Sustain'd the sword that glitter'd at his side.”

The king, as was the custom on those occasions, rode bare-headed. He wore a robe of crimson velvet, and a jacket or coat of raised gold; “the placard was set with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, and the bawdrike with great balasses: the trappings of his horse were of damask gold, with a deep purfell of ermine; the knights and esquires of his body were clad in crimson velvet, and all the gentlemen, with other of his chapel, and his officers and household servants, in scarlet.”^b Next came the queen in a litter drawn by two white palfreys, trapped in cloth of gold; she was dressed in white embroidered satin, and her hair, “beautifully and goodly to behold,” hung long and loosely down her back, adorned with a coronal of precious stones.^c Following the queen were her attendants drawn in chariots, and a countless train of lords, knights, esquires, and gentlemen, closed this grand procession.

Such were the magnificence and pomp with which the youthful king conducted the amiable and spotless Catherine to become the partner of his throne: but how sad was the contrast betwixt the dawn and close of this unhappy union. Comparatively few were the years that passed away before this innocent queen ceased to find favor in the eyes of her fickle and inconstant lord; and at length, supplanted in his affections by the youth and beauty of another, her seat was allotted to an unworthy rival.

Henry having determined on repudiating his unoffending consort, the difficulties which presented themselves to the accomplishment of

^a Hall.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid.

his design served only to increase the impetuosity of his passion, and impelled him to stifle every sense of decorum to obtain the object of his well-known love. No sooner was the sentence of the church pronounced, than Anne Boleyn, the fair and new possessor of Henry's heart, was shewn to the world as queen; and all the extravagance and ingenuity that the age produced, were lavished on the ceremony of her coronation. On Thursday the twenty-ninth of May, 1533, she was conveyed, with a degree of unprecedented pomp from Greenwich to the Tower of London, where her landing was greeted with reiterated peals of ordnance.* She was there received by the king and conducted into the palace, little thinking how soon that fatal fortress was to become her prison, and the scene of her untimely end.

On the following day the marquis of Dorset, the earl of Derby, lord Clifford, lord Fitzwalter, lord Hastings, lord Mounteagle, and twelve others, who were appointed to be made knights of the bath, served the king at dinner, "and that night were bathed and shreven accordyng to the old usage of England."^b

The next day being Whitsun-eve, after the king had made the knights of the bath "according to the ceremonies thereto belonging," the queen departed from the Tower to the palace at Westminster with a train more splendid even than that already noticed at the former coronation. The populace crowded together about the fortress to witness the outset of this gorgeous spectacle; and at length the sound of trumpets proclaimed the approaching scene. First through the portals rode twelve Frenchmen belonging to the ambassador of France: they were clothed in coats of blue and yellow velvet, and their horses caparisoned with blue sarcenet, adorned with white crosses: after them came gentlemen, knights, and esquires, two and two. Next came the judges, and then the knights of the bath "in violet gowns with hoods purfelled with minver, like doctors:" after them abbots, then barons, then bishops, and then earls and marquises. Next came out the lord chancellor of England followed by the archbishop of York and the ambassador of Venice, and the archbishop of Canterbury, and the ambassador of France. After them rode two esquires of honor "with robes of estate rolled

* Hall.

^b Ibid.

and worn baudrikewise about their necks, with caps of estate representing the dukes of Normandy and Aquitain," and then the mayor of London with his mace and garter in his coat of arms. Following these were the marshall and constable of England bearing the ensigns of their offices. The lords for the most part were attired in crimson velvet, and all the queen's servants and officers in scarlet. Immediately before her majesty rode her chancellor bare-headed: she was drawn in an open litter by two palfreys, and wore a surcoat of white cloth of tissue, and a mantle of the same, furred with ermine; her hair hung down, and on her head was a coif surmounted by a circlet of precious stones. Over her a canopy of cloth of gold was borne by knights, with silver staves. After the queen came her chamberlain and the master of her horse, and the procession closed with a train of chariots with many ladies of honor, followed by the guards and attendants of her court.^a

So this splendid cavalcade came forth of the Tower, and passing through the city, the streets were adorned as usual with costly hangings, and the scene enlivened with "marvellous cunning pageants," which shew the tasteless barbarism of the age, and supply us with a view of its extravagance and folly. Fountains flowed with wines; Apollo with the muses, the three Graces and the Cardinal Virtues, maintained conspicuous stations; and Mary the wife of Cleophas with her children,^b hailed the beauteous queen, and wished her a numerous progeny!

This occasion of rejoicing was but a prelude to the persecutions and cruelties which darkened the remainder of Henry's reign, and made the Tower a scene of such dismal tragedies. In 1534, the great, the witty sir Thomas More, and his fellow-martyr, the conscientious Fisher, bishop of Rochester, were both committed for denying the king's supremacy: the latter, after a severe imprisonment, almost without the common necessities of life,^c was led to the adjoining hill, and there ended his days upon the scaffold, a steady adherent to his faith. He was beheaded on the twenty-first of June, 1535, and More suffered on the same spot on the sixth of July following.

^a Hall.^b Ibid.^c See the Account of the Beauchamp-Tower, in Section II.

Short was the time before Anne herself became a prisoner in the fortress, whence she had proceeded with so much splendor to receive the ensigns of her exalted station; and there she died upon the scaffold, not without tainted fame.^a Having lost the affections of her husband, this unfortunate queen was committed to the Tower on charges of adultery and treason; and after a trial, in which the arbitrary will of the monarch rather than the principles of justice seems to have prevailed, she was found guilty, and beheaded in front of the chapel within the Tower, on the nineteenth of May, 1536; and her brother, lord Rochford, and four gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, were committed and suffered on the same occasion.

From this period almost every revolving year of Henry's life brought other distinguished tenants to these gloomy mansions, and many of them fell victims to their sovereign's cruelty. An attainder having passed in parliament against lord Thomas Howard, in 1536, for privately contracting marriage with lady Margaret Douglas, the king's niece, that unfortunate nobleman was confined in the Tower till his death: in the following year the rebellions in the north brought lord Darcy and several others to that fatal fortress; and, in 1538, the marquis of Exeter, lord Montague, sir Edward Nevil, and sir Nicholas Carew, were sent thither on charges of high treason, and ended their lives upon the block.^b These distinguished characters were sacrifices to Henry's destructive jealousy. Under colour of an accusation brought against them by sir Geoffrey Poole, the perfidious brother of lord Montague, they were condemned and executed; though, probably, on no other grounds than because they were adherents to the ancient religion of their country, and because the two former at least, were connected by blood with the house of York.^c

The year 1540 proved fatal to that mighty pillar of the state, Cromwell, earl of Essex, the great and vigorous promoter of the suppression of papal supremacy, and the dissolution of religious houses. This ill-fated peer, whose extraordinary capacity and merits

^a See the Account of Distinguished Prisoners, in Part II.

^b Hall, Hollinshed, Stow.

^c The marquis of Exeter was son of Catherine, youngest daughter of king Edward the Fourth, and had recently been declared heir to the throne, by Henry himself; and Henry lord Montague was the eldest son of Margaret, countess of Salisbury, the only surviving issue of George, duke of Clarence, Edward the Fourth's brother.—See the Account of Distinguished Prisoners, in Part II.

had raised him from the lowest station in life to the highest offices and honors in the state, was one of the wisest and most upright ministers that ever had served a king; but no remembrance of his fidelity or his services could screen him from the passions of a capricious tyrant. He had unfortunately been the first proposer of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves—a marriage against which that fickle monster had taken an early and unchangeable antipathy; and this was the prelude to his downfall. Being abandoned to the malice of his enemies he was suddenly accused of high treason, in the council-chamber at Westminster, and instantly led to the Tower, deserted by his friends and loaded with the imprecations of the people. In those days, in almost every case of accusation for treason, the principles of equity and justice yielded to the arbitrary and tyrannical will of the prince; and this was truly the case with Cromwell: the parliament, with its accustomed base subserviency, having proceeded against him by attainder, without evidence, or hearing him in his defence, adjudged him guilty of heresy and treason, and left it to the king to punish him by an undeserved and ignominious death on the scaffold, or at the stake.^a He was therefore beheaded on Tower-hill, the 28th of July, 1540; and thus expired one of the greatest and most extraordinary men that ever adorned the country which gave him birth.^b

The death of Cromwell was shortly followed by Henry's union with his fourth wife, Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; but this, like his former marriages, proved infelicitous: its dawn, indeed, was bright, and seemed to promise happiness to the remainder of his days; but dark and heavy clouds of grief and disappointment soon obscured the prospect. The love which Henry bore this new object of his affections bordered on adoration, and such was the satisfaction he experienced in her society, that he even publicly offered up his thanks to heaven for the signal blessing conferred upon him in his wife:^c but this excess of fondness only served to render more bitter that cup of agony of which he was ere long to drink. It was soon his misfortune to find that she on whom he was doting as the essence

^a Burnet, vol. i. p. 287.

^b See a Memoir of him in the Account of Distinguished Prisoners, in Part II.

^c Burnet, p. 311.

of loveliness and innocence was tainted with crimes that blotted her name with infamy, and brought her to a just and deserved doom. It was clearly proved that her conduct had been criminal before her marriage, and there were reasons, too well founded to admit of doubt, that such had also been her course since she became the partner of the royal bed. On these accusations, Catherine and the infamous confidant and promoter of her amours, lady Rochford,^a were committed to prison in the Tower, and, an act of attainder having passed against them in parliament for high treason,^b on Saturday the 11th of February, 1542, they were led to a scaffold in front of the chapel within the Tower, on the Monday following, and there their days were closed by the axe of the executioner.^c "Since my writing to you on Sunday last," says an eye-witness of this catastrophe, "I see the quene and the lady Rotchford suffer within the Tower the day following, whos sowles, I doubt not, be with God, for thay made the moost godly and Christian's end that ever was hard tell of, I thinke, sins the world's creation, uttering thayer lively faith in the blode of Christe onely, with wonderfull pacience and constancye to the death, and with goodly words and stedfast countenances thay desyred all Christen people to take regard unto thayer worthy and just punnishment with death for thayer offences, and agenst God hainously, from thayer youth upward, in breaking all his comandments; and agenst the king's royall majesty very daungerously: wherfor thay being justly condempned, as thay sayed, by the lawes of the realme and parlement, to dye, required the people, I say, to take example at them, for amendement of thayer ungodly lyves, and gladly to obey the king in all things; for whose preservation, thay did hartely pray, and willed all people so to do, comending thayer sowles to God and earnestly calling for mercy upon him; whom," continues the writer, "I besieche to geve

^a The wife of the late lord Rochford, who innocently suffered with his sister Anne Boleyn, and it was on her evidence against him that he was condemned and executed. Derham and Culpepper, the sharers in the queen's guilt, had previously been drawn from the Tower and hanged at Tyborne; but the duchess of Norfolk, the queen's grandmother, lord William Howard her uncle, and several others, who had also been committed to the Tower, and attainted of misprision of treason, for concealing their knowledge of her conduct, were finally pardoned.

^b Parliamentary Journals, p. 168.

^c Hall. Hollinshed.

us grace with suche faith, hope, and charite, at our departing owt of this miserable world, to come to the fruytion of his godhed in joy everlasting."^a

In the year 1542, shortly after the execution of the queen and lady Rochford, a singular instance of the effects of sudden joy was manifested in the death of Arthur Plantagenet, viscount Lisle, illegitimate son of king Edward the Fourth. He had been removed from the governorship of Calais, and committed to the Tower on suspicion of being privy to a plot for betraying that town to the French; but, his innocence being afterwards established, the king sent to him his secretary, sir Thomas Wriotesley, with a ring, as a token of his favor; and sir Thomas delivered his message with so much eloquence and feeling, that the excess of joy threw lord Lisle into convulsions, which deprived him the enjoyment of the boon by the termination of his life.^b

In the same year, after the rout of the Scots at Solway-moss, the earls of Cassells and Glencarne, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, and Gray, with many others of the Scottish leaders, were brought prisoners to the Tower; and thence, after two days confinement, were conducted solemnly through the streets to Westminster. They were apparelled, at the king's charges, in gowns of black damask, with coats of black velvet, and doublets of satin, being mourning for their king. They rode two and two preceded by sir John Gage the constable of the Tower, and followed by his lieutenant; and on coming before the council in the Star-chamber, they were committed to the custody of certain prelates and nobility, by whom they were treated with hospitality and kindness.

In speaking of the Tower at this period it may be proper to mention the following extraordinary circumstance related by Stow. "In the year 1546, the 27th of April, being Tuesday in Easter-week, William Foxley, pot-maker for the Mint in the Tower of London, fell asleep, and so continued sleeping, and could not be wakened with pricking, cramping, or otherwise burning whatsoever, till the first day of term, which was 14 days and 15 nights. The cause of his thus sleeping

^a The original letter, whence this extract is taken, is preserved in the Record Office in the Tower, and is dated "at London the 15. day in February, 1541."

^b Hollinshed. Stow.

could not be known, though the same were diligently searched after by the king's physicians and other learned men : yea, the king himself examined the said William Foxley, who was, in all points, found at his wakening, to be as if he had slept but one night ; and he lived more than 40 years after in the said Tower, to wit, until the year of Christ, 1587, and then deceased on Wednesday in Easter-week."

The 28th of January, 1547, having terminated the life of king Henry the Eighth, the earl of Hertford and other lords repaired to his son, prince Edward, at Bishop's-Hatfield,^a and on the thirty-first of the same month honorably escorted him to the Tower of London;^b where his arrival was greeted with discharges of artillery, and every demonstration of joy. The young monarch was welcomed by the nobility, who had assembled there to receive him, and was conducted to the royal apartments, which were "richly hung and garnished with cloth of arras and cloth of estate agreeable to such a guest."^c

On the morrow, being Tuesday, about three o'clock in the afternoon, all the nobility of the realm, as well spiritual as temporal, went into the king's chamber of presence ; and after the earl of Hertford, the lord admiral, and other of the late king's executors, had brought his highness from his privy chamber to the chair of estate, all the lords proceeded one after the other according to their degrees ; and, kneeling down before him, kissed his majesty's hand, saying, *God save your grace.*^d Then sir Thomas Wriotesley, the lord chancellor, declared to them the effect of the late king's will, and the names of his executors ; adding, that the council had unanimously agreed that the earl of Hertford, the king's maternal uncle, was the most proper person to be the governor of the young monarch during his minority. This ended, they cried altogether with a loud voice, *God save king Edward* ; and his majesty, putting off his cap, answered, *We heartily thank you, my lords all ; and hereafter, in all that ye shall have to do with us for any suit or causes, ye shall be heartily welcome to us.*^e

Many of the nobility remained with Edward in the Tower, and his council sat there from day to day taking order as well respecting

^a Grafton. Hollinshed. Stow.

^b Ibid.

^c Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 20.

^d Ibid. p. 21.

^e Ibid.

the interment of the deceased king, as for the approaching coronation of their new sovereign.^a

The king continued to hold his court at the Tower for a considerable time, and on Sunday the sixth of February, after being knighted there by his uncle, the lord protector, he conferred that honor on the mayor of London, and on Mr. Justice Portman.^b

On Thursday, February the seventeenth, the day after king Henry's funeral, all the lords temporal assembled at the Tower of London, in their robes of estate, and there the earl of Hertford was created duke of Somerset; the earl of Essex was made marquis of Northampton; lord Lisle was raised to the earldom of Warwick, and made high chamberlain of England; the lord chancellor, Sir Thomas Wriotesley, was created earl of Southampton; and sir Thomas Seymour was advanced to the honor of baron Sudley, and high admiral of England; sir Richard Riche was made lord Riche; sir William Willoughby, lord Willoughby of Parham; and sir Edmund Sheffield was created lord Sheffield of Butterwicke.^c

The solemnity of king Edward the sixth's coronation was appointed for Sunday the twentieth of February, and on the day preceding he departed from the Tower, and passed through the city to Westminster, in a manner not inferior in magnificence and pomp to that which we have so frequently noticed on former occasions. The citizens made their accustomed shew of loyalty and attachment by the decoration of their houses with costly drapery, and the streets were as usual adorned with many "goodly pageants and devices for the king's contentment."^d

The flattering hopes of tranquillity and happiness, which were cherished at the commencement of Edward's reign, were soon dispelled by those jealousies and dissensions which are generally the result of a minor's occupation of the throne. The first to disturb the peace and good order of the country, was Thomas Seymour, baron Sudley, the lord high admiral. This turbulent and ambitious character was committed to the Tower; and his brother, the protector, was obliged to sacrifice the finer feelings of nature to the good of his country, by signing the dreadful warrant for his execution. This

^a Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 20.

^b Ibid. p. 22.

^c Ibid. Hollinshed.

^d See Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 310.

was followed by insurrections in different parts of the kingdom, and finally by a potent faction formed against the protector himself.

In the beginning of October, 1549, after several private conferences between the leading members of the council and some of the nobility, there was a great assembly of the confederates at the earl of Warwick's, in Ely-place,^a at which the downfall of the protector was determined on: they got possession of the Tower the same day, by stratagem; removed sir John Markham, the lieutenant, and appointed sir Leonard Chamberlain in his stead.^b On hearing of these sudden and extraordinary proceedings, the duke of Somerset departed with the king from Hampton-court to Windsor, and began to fortify the castle; but he was shortly afterwards conveyed to the Tower of London, and deprived of the office of protector.^c Having so far succeeded in their enterprise, the lords repaired to the Tower, and there brought against him various articles of accusation;^d the futility of which was sufficiently evinced by their not attempting to proceed to greater extremities against him.

After remaining a prisoner in the Tower till the sixth of February, the duke was restored to liberty;^e and, in order to effect a reconciliation between him and his mortal enemy the earl of Warwick, a marriage was brought about between their families.^f Nothing, however, could restrain the proud and aspiring Dudley; and Somerset, as an obstacle to his ambitious views, was marked out for destruction. Conscious that they must fail in accusing their fallen enemy of high treason, Warwick and his adherents, who had now possessed themselves of almost absolute authority, adopted a surer and more wily course. A law had recently passed, which made it felony to imagine the death of a privy counsellor, and on this they acted. On the sixteenth of October, 1551, the unfortunate peer was again arrested and committed to the Tower;^g and shortly afterwards, his duchess, sir Michael Stanhope, sir Thomas Arundel, sir Ralph Vane, and many more of his friends and servants, as well as lord Paget, the earl of Arundel, and lord Dacres, were also sent to that fortress.

^a Grafton. Hollinshed.

^b Ibid.

^c Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 293, 299.

^d Hollinshed. Stow.

^e Grafton. Hollinshed. Stow.

^f Ibid.

^g Ibid.

On the second of December the duke was brought out of the Tower with the fatal axe borne before him,^a and conducted to the great hall at Westminster, where he was tried for high treason and felony. The former of these charges he clearly disproved, but on the latter, which was founded on his having entertained designs against the lives of the duke of Northumberland,^b the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, he was found guilty by his peers; among whom these three noblemen themselves were not ashamed to sit in judgment.

The unfortunate duke being condemned, was reconducted to his prison in the Tower, to await the fate to which his persecutors had now consigned him: but he still retained a place in the king's affections, was an object of the people's love, and so loud and violent was the clamour raised in his favour, that his artful enemies found it necessary to suspend his execution; and, in order as well to allay popular feeling, as to divert young Edward's mind from his uncle's troubles, they devised a course of sports and public entertainments, and ordained that the feast of Christmas, then at hand, "should be solemnly kept at Greenwich with open household and frank resort to court, which is called, keeping of the hall; at which time, according to old ordinary course, there is always one appointed to make sport in the court, called the Lord of Misrule, whose office is not unknown to such as have been brought up in noblemen's houses, and among great house-keepers, who use liberal feasting in that season. There was therefore, by order of the council, a gentleman both wise and learned, whose name was George Ferrers, appointed for this year: who, being of better calling than commonly his predecessors had been, received all his commissions and warrants by the name of the master of the king's pastimes; and this gentleman so well supplied his office, both in shew of sundry sights and devices of rare invention, and in acts of divers interludes and matters of pastime played by persons, as not only satisfied the common sort, but also were very

^a Hollinshed—According to an ancient custom, the axe of the Tower is carried before state-prisoners when going to trial, with the edge of it turned from them; and on returning, if found guilty of high treason and condemned, it is borne before them with the edge inverted.

^b John Dudley, earl of Warwick, had just before been raised to this dignity.

well liked and allowed by the council and other of skill in suchlike pastimes; but most of all by the young king himself, as appeared by his princely liberality in rewarding of his services."^a

The Christmas being thus spent in festivities and mirth, "where-with the minds and ears of murmurers were meetly well appeased," Northumberland and his malicious colleagues ventured to proceed against the object of their united hatred. On the twenty-second of January, at eight o'clock in the morning, the unhappy Somerset was brought out of the Tower under a strong guard, to the scaffold on the adjoining hill; where he met his fate with the firmness and composure of a virtuous man. Without a change in voice or countenance he kneeled down and prayed; and then, rising up, addressed the people. He declared his undeviating loyalty to his king, and zeal for his country's good: he expressed his readiness to die, and thanked God for giving time to repent: he rejoiced at having been a firm promoter of the reformed religion, and exhorted his hearers to embrace it stedfastly: he also prayed for the happiness and preservation of the king, and wished all his counsellors the grace and favor of God.^b In his last moments his fortitude experienced a severe trial:—a rushing noise was heard at a distance, and the crowd observing an officer approach, took him to be the bearer of a pardon, and raised the shout of *God save king Edward!* But the duke calmly waved his cap, and entreated them to be silent and respectful;^c and begging that they would accompany him with their prayers, he submitted his devoted head.

The death of Somerset was followed by the execution of his friends, sir Michael Stanhope, sir Thomas Arundel, sir Ralph Vane, and sir Miles Partridge: they suffered on Tower-hill on the twenty-sixth of February; the two former by the axe, and the others by an ignominious death on the gallows.

These transactions were shortly succeeded by events which opened a wider field to Dudley's thirst for greatness. A rapid decline in the king's health rendered almost certain his speedy dissolution, and this bold and artful politician formed the desperate project of settling the crown upon the head of a member of his own family; and with this

^a Grafton's Chronicle.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid.

view he had not only effected a marriage between his fourth son, lord Guildford Dudley, and lady Jane Grey, but had prevailed upon the king to declare her his heir to the throne, and had got this act countenanced and confirmed by the signatures of the privy council and all the judges, with the exception of sir James Hales, one of the justices of the common pleas, who strongly protested against the measure.^a

King Edward having expired on the sixth of July, measures were instantly adopted by Dudley and his partisans for securing the persons of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth; and on the morrow, the lord treasurer, the earl of Shrewsbury, and others of the council, repaired to the Tower, and displacing sir James Croft from the office of constable, committed that fortress to the charge of the lord admiral, with instructions to fortify and defend it. On the ninth of July the lady Jane was proclaimed, and the next day she made her public entry into the Tower, as queen of England; and thence in her name letters were dispatched to foreign courts,^b and proclamations and commissions sent to the different counties of the kingdom.^c

Thus was this innocent usurper made a victim to the lawless ambition of her guilty relatives. Her career of royalty seems but as a dream; so short was the interval between her elevation to the throne and her captivity as a criminal.

On the news of her brother's death, and the designs that were entertained against her person, the princess Mary hastily retired from Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire to the castle of Framlingham, where she was joined by the principal gentry of Norfolk and Suffolk, who offered her their assistance, provided she would make no alteration in the religion as it was then established. To suppress this rising opposition the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and lord Grey, with an army of near ten thousand men, departed from London on the fourteenth of July, and arrived on the morrow at Cambridge; they halted there one day, being Sunday, and proceeded on the seventeenth to St. Edmund's Bury. Here they received intelligence of the sudden change which had taken place in

^a Grafton. Hollinshed. Stow.—Lady Jane Grey was the eldest daughter of Henry Grey duke of Suffolk, by Frances, daughter of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, by Mary, king Henry the Eighth's sister.

^b Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 5.

^c Ibid. p. 3.

London, and in great confusion and dismay, Northumberland returned to Cambridge, and proclaimed the princess Mary queen. But it was now too late: he and his partisans were arrested, on the following day, by the earl of Arundel, and, on the twenty-fifth of July, the said duke, with John, earl of Warwick, and the lords Ambrose and Henry Dudley, his three sons, sir Andrew Dudley, his brother, the earl of Huntingdon, lord Hastings, sir Thomas Palmer, sir Henry and sir John Gates, and Dr. Sandys, who had preached in favor of the lady Jane at Cambridge, were all brought prisoners to the Tower, under an escort of four thousand men; the next day, were also conveyed thither, the marquis of Northampton, lord Robert Dudley, the bishop of London, sir Richard Corbet, and the two chief justices, Cholmley and Montague; and, on the twenty-seventh, the duke of Suffolk, sir John Cheke, sir Anthony Cook, and sir John York, were also committed to that fortress;^a and these were shortly followed by the lady Jane herself, together with her unhappy husband; both of whom remained there till the period of their execution.^b

After the fortunate change that had taken place in her affairs, queen Mary directed her course, by easy journeys, towards the capital, and, on the twenty-eighth of July, arrived at Wansted-house, in Essex. She there received the congratulations of most of the nobility and gentry of her kingdom, and proceeding thence, on the third of August, made her triumphant entry into London. The procession was such as corresponded with the taste and customs of the age: the streets, through which it was to pass, were lined with the various companies of the city in their liveries: before the queen rode a thousand of her subjects in velvet coats and cloaks, in embroidery: next to these were the mayor of London bearing the mace, and the earl of Arundel with the sword of state; and, after her majesty, came the princess Elizabeth, the duchess of Norfolk, the marchioness of Exeter, and many other ladies; and the procession closed with the aldermen of London, and a guard of three thousand horse. They entered at Aldgate and came to the Tower, where the queen immediately released from confinement the duke

^a Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. iv. p. 23. Stow.

^b Grafton.

of Norfolk, lord Courtenay, Tunstal, bishop of Durham, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester,^a and several other prisoners. The venerable duke had suffered a long confinement: he was committed in the last year of the reign of king Henry the Eighth, and it was only to that tyrant's death, on the morning appointed for his execution, that he owed the preservation of his life.^b Lord Courtenay, son of the marquis of Exeter, one of the unhappy victims to Henry's jealousy, had endured a twelve years captivity in these dreary prisons; but he was now not only restored to the honors and possessions of his illustrious house, but unhappily cursed with his sovereign's love.^c Tunstall and Gardiner were replaced in their sees, and the latter was made a privy counsellor, and soon afterwards lord chancellor. Bonner also was restored to the bishoprick of London, and Ridley, who had been appointed to it by the late king, was removed and committed to the Tower;^d whither likewise were sent Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and many other of the protestant clergy.

Mary continued to hold her court at the Tower till after her brother's funeral, and it was there that she formed her council, and first openly shewed her determination to subvert the religion of the established church. Edward was buried in Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster, according to the rites of the protestant faith; whilst the queen celebrated his funeral exequies, with a mass of *dirige* and *requiem*, in her chapel at the Tower.^e The marquis of Winchester, and the earls of Pembroke and Shrewsbury, attended

^a Strype's Memorials, vol. iv. p. 27. Grafton. Hollinshed.

^b It is said that when the lieutenant came to his prison in the morning, to prepare him for execution, he made a fortunate guess, and saved his life by saying, *No, master lieutenant, the king is dead!* It is more likely, perhaps, that private intimation had been given him of the king's decease; but it seems to have been intended that he should have been put to death before that event was made known.—See Account of Distinguished Prisoners.

^c Lord Courtenay, who was sent to the Tower when he was but 14 years of age, prudently beguiled the tedious hours of his captivity, in the improvement of his mind, and when, on his release from prison, he appeared in the world, it was as an envied scholar and a polished gentleman: but his accomplishments, aided by an elegant and handsome person, unfortunately gained upon Mary's affections, and proved the destruction of his future fortune. His honest and generous heart would not allow him to sacrifice his feelings, however alluring the prospect; and he was, in consequence, the lasting object of her malignant hatred.—See Account of Distinguished Prisoners.

^d Grafton.

^e Strype, vol. iv. p. 30. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 381.

here as chief mourners; and the bishop of Winchester, with his mitre on his head, performed the service after the old popish forms.^a

These ceremonies being over, the next consideration of the government was to inflict punishment on the heads of the late conspiracy; and accordingly, on Friday the eighteenth of August, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, the duke's eldest son, were conducted from the Tower to Westminster, and arraigned and condemned for high treason:^b on the next day a similar sentence was passed upon sir Andrew Dudley, sir John and sir Henry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer;^c and the Monday following being appointed for their execution, all the necessary preparations were made on Tower-hill; and, by eight o'clock in the morning, ten thousand people had assembled there to witness the awful spectacle.^d On a sudden, however, the order for their present death was countermanded, for the purpose, says Fox, of gaining a piece of glory to the popish religion.^e With hope of obtaining pardon, they were prevailed upon to renounce the protestant faith, and acknowledge the doctrines of the church of Rome; and in order to give greater consequence and publicity to this solemn proceeding, mass was performed that morning in the Tower by the bishop of Worcester; at which were present ten of the principal citizens of London, and several members of the privy council.^f The duke, with the marquis of Northampton, sir Andrew Dudley, sir Henry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, entered the chapel and kneeled down hearing mass, and "every one of them said devoutly with the bishop *confiteor*."^g They afterwards came together before the altar and confessed to the bishop that they were the same men in the same faith as they had acknowledged to him before; and, having all received the sacrament, the duke turned to the people, declaring that he had received it according to the true catholic faith; and, said he, "the plague that is upon this realm and upon us now, is that we have erred from the faith for these sixteen years, and this I protest before you all from the bottom of my heart."^h But, notwithstanding this duplicity, Northumberland, Palmer, and sir John

^a Strype's Ecclesiastical Mem. vol. iv. p. 30.

^b Ibid. p. 32. Grafton. Stow. Hollinshed.

^c Ibid.

^d Ibid.

^e Fox's Book of Martyrs.

^f Harleian MSS. No. 116.

^g Ibid.

^h Ibid.

Gates suffered on the following morning;^a and these, for the present, were the only actors in the conspiracy, that expiated their crimes with death.

These proceedings were followed by the ceremonies of the queen's coronation. Mary, the first female sovereign of England, was crowned at Westminster on Sunday the first of October, by Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester; both the archbishops being then prisoners. On the Thursday preceding these formalities she removed from Westminster, and came by water to the Tower, where she was attended by the nobility and great officers of state, and on the morrow, the earl of Arundel, by commission from her majesty, made fifteen new knights of the bath,^b the earls of Devonshire and Surry, and lords Bergavenny, Cardiff, Berkley, Mountjoy, and Lumley being of the number.^c The next day the queen made her solemn procession through the city to Westminster, the streets as usual being adorned with magnificent drapery, "and in many places were goodly pageants, and devices therein, with music and eloquent speeches." Mary was drawn in a sumptuous litter, and apparelled in "a mantle and kirtle of cloth of gold, furred with mynever pure and powdered ermins;" and her head was adorned with a circlet of gold, enriched with pearls and precious stones.^d Next to the queen, followed her sister the lady Elizabeth, and the lady Anne of Cleves in a chariot; and after them came forth the duchess of Norfolk, the marchionesses of Exeter and Winchester, the countess of Arundel, and a gorgeous train of other ladies on horseback or in chariots, chiefly attired in crimson velvet, and their horses caparisoned with the same; and thus this splendid cavalcade passed through the city, wanting nothing but

^a Harleian MSS. No. 116. Grafton. Stow. Hollinshed. Strype.—See Account of Distinguished Prisoners.

^b Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iv. p. 53.

^c The oath administered to this order was, "You shall honour God above all things; you shall be stedfast in the faith of the holy church, and the same maintain and defend to your power: you shall love your sovereign above all earthly creatures, and for your sovereign and your sovereign's right and dignity, live and die. Ye shall defend widows, maidens, and orphans in their right. Ye shall suffer no extortion as far as ye may, nor sit in place where any wrongful judgment shall be given to your knowledge. And as great honor be this noble order unto you as ever it was to any of your progenitors."—*Strype's Ecclesiastical Mem. vol. iv. p. 53, 54.*

^d Ibid.

the hearty rejoicings of the people to render it equal to any of those splendid shows, which custom had now established as a necessary accompaniment to the ceremonies of a coronation.

But to return to the fortunes of the lady Jane, the innocent heroine in the attempt to set aside Mary's succession. She and her husband the lord Guildford Dudley, who, with many other distinguished sufferers, still occupied their prisons in the Tower, were brought to trial and condemned shortly after the coronation; but were respited, and would, probably, have been further objects of the royal favor, had not new commotions rendered it expedient that they should also atone with their blood for the offences of their ambitious parents. The queen's proposed marriage with Philip of Spain, contrary to the general wish of the nation, led to the rebellion of sir Thomas Wyatt and the duke of Suffolk, and this not only hastened the end of the lady Jane and her unhappy husband, but served still further to throng the Tower with prisoners, distinguished by their rank or sufferings.

On the twelfth of February, 1554, the lady Jane was brought to a scaffold on the green within the Tower, and there she met her destiny with fortitude and composure only equalled by the unsullied innocence of her life.* Her execution was preceded by that of her ill-fated husband, on Tower-hill; and, as if to consummate her wretchedness, she saw his headless corse being conveyed to the chapel, its final resting-place, as she was approaching the fatal block.^b Their death was shortly succeeded by executions of the duke of Suffolk the lady Jane's rash and imprudent father, and lord Thomas Grey, her uncle: Wyatt and many of his accomplices were also executed; and the streets of the metropolis presented sights, from the contemplation of which the human mind must shrink with horror. Gibbets were erected in almost every public part of the capital;^c and these, loaded with victims, were allowed for months, to stand as monuments of Mary's vindictive and persecuting spirit, and, to the latest ages, to blacken the blackness of her inglorious reign.

Amidst these scenes of blood and cruelty, it was not to be expected

* Fox's Book of Martyrs. Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation. Grafton. Stow. Hollinshed.

^b Fox. Grafton. Hollinshed.—See Account of Distinguished Prisoners.

^c Grafton. Stow. Hollinshed.

that Elizabeth, so great an object of her sister's jealousy and hatred, could escape without her share of trouble. On suspicion of being privy to Wyatt's insurrection, she was commanded to appear at court, and shortly afterwards committed to the Tower; whither she was conveyed by water, with some of her attendants, in charge of the earl of Sussex and another lord;^a and being reluctantly brought to enter that fortress at the traitor's-gate, she said, with her usual dignity and spirit, as she set her foot on those dreaded steps, *here landeth as true a subject, being a prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs, and before thee O God, I speak it.*

The princess's confinement in the Tower was attended with all that mean severity which so forcibly characterizes Mary's detested government. Mass was constantly obtruded upon her in her apartment,^b and with so much strictness and jealousy was she watched, that some little children who used to delight in bringing her flowers, were closely questioned by the lord chamberlain, and forbade to repeat their affectionate visits to the virgin-prisoner.^c Till her health was impaired by such rigid confinement, Elizabeth was not even allowed to walk in the royal apartments, and when she afterwards obtained the gracious favor of being permitted to take the air in the queen's garden, which adjoined her prison, she was attended by the constable and other officers of the fortress: the doors were also closed and guarded, and the prisoners, whose lodgings were within view of the spot, were not permitted to approach their windows, lest even with a distant glance they should commiserate each other's sufferings.

The dying protestation of sir Thomas Wyatt cleared the character of Elizabeth from every imputation as to her being concerned in his rebellion;^d but she was, nevertheless, still detained in the Tower, and it was not till the nineteenth of May that she gained her release from that fortress. She was then given in charge to Sir Henry Beddingfield, and conveyed under a strong guard to Woodstock:^e the earl of Devonshire, who had also been confined in the Tower, on pretence of his favoring the late commotions, was at the same time removed to the castle of Fotheringay;^f and archbishop Cranmer, and

^a Hollinshed.

^b Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 133.

^c Ibid. Burnet's Hist. of the Reform., vol. ii. p. 569.

^d Stow. Hollinshed. Grafton.

^e Hollinshed.

^f Ibid.

bishops Ridley and Latimer, who had been taken a short time before from the Tower to the castle of Windsor, and thence conveyed to attend a polemical meeting at Oxford, on the subject of their religion,^a soon afterwards ended their lives in a glorious martyrdom; confirming, by their patient and instructive deaths in the flames, those great and lasting truths manifested in the doctrines of the reformation.^b

In the beginning of the following year, the lord chancellor and other members of the privy council went in state to the Tower, and discharged the archbishop of York, the lords Ambrose, Robert, and Henry Dudley, sons of the late duke of Northumberland, sir Andrew Dudley, his brother, and many other prisoners, who had been concerned in the usurpation of lady Jane Grey, or in the subsequent rebellion of sir Thomas Wyatt;^c and in order to remove, or at least to soften the prejudices of the people against the queen's late marriage with Philip of Spain, this act of grace was publicly attributed to his intercession: these dismal abodes, however, were not left untenanted: the doors were not opened to the sufferers in the cause of religion; these were still to endure the hardships of imprisonment, and many of them, with others, whom the work of persecution almost daily added to their numbers, ended their lives on the scaffold or at the stake.

But let us turn from these scenes, to contemplate the happy prospect which was opened to the country by the termination of this reign of terror, and by the succession of Elizabeth, the glorious heroine of the reformation. Mary terminated her unprofitable existence on the seventeenth of November, 1558; and, the parliament being then sitting, after a few hours secrecy and hesitation, the Commons were called into the upper house, and the event communicated to the whole assembly by Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, the lord chancellor,^d and the name of Elizabeth, as her successor, was instantly received with the strongest demonstrations of joy.^e

Never did the accession of a sovereign excite more sincere or

^a Fox's Book of Martyrs. Burnet's History of the Reformation. Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials.

^b Ibid.

^c Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. iv. p. 342.

^d Hollinshed. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 583.

^e Ibid.

general rejoicings than that of Elizabeth : the thunders of applause which attended her proclamation in the capital were re-echoed from the remotest corners of the kingdom : her known attachment to the protestant religion, and her sufferings in its cause under her cruel, bigotted, and tyrannical sister, had ingrafted her in the affections of the people, and the nation in general looked with confidence and satisfaction to the happy results of her reign.

When Elizabeth received the news of her sister's decease and of her own accession to the throne, she was residing at Bishop's Hatfield, in Hertfordshire ;^a whence she removed, a few days afterwards, to the Charter-house in London, the residence of lord North ;^b and from there proceeded, on Monday the twenty-eighth of November, amid the most enthusiastic greetings of her subjects, and established her court at the Tower.^c What must have been her emotions on entering that fortress, so late her prison, no human power can describe. The last time she passed those portals she was being conveyed, a forlorn and dejected prisoner, under the charge of a brutal courtier and a guard of armed men,^d she knew not whither or to what unhappy destiny ; but as she now rode triumphantly beneath them, these " antique towers" rung with the blessings and acclamations of her people.^e

In the early part of the month of December, queen Elizabeth removed from the Tower, by water, to Somerset-house, and sojourned there with her court till after her sister's funeral,^f when she proceeded to her palace at Westminster, and there celebrated the festival of Christmas.

In the mean time great preparations were being made for the accustomed cavalcade through the city, and for the ceremonies of the coronation. The day appointed for Elizabeth to receive the ensigns of her exalted station was Sunday the fifteenth of January, and on the Thursday preceding she returned by water to the Tower,^g where she was welcomed by the nobility and great officers of state, who had assembled there to receive her. She was " attended by the mayor and aldermen in their barge, and all the crafts in their barges,

^a Hollinshed. Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 584.

^b Hollinshed.

^c Fabian. Stow. Hollinshed.

^d Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials.

^e Fabian. Hollinshed.

^f Hollinshed.

^g Stow. Hollinshed.

decked and trimmed with the targets and banners of their misteries ;”^a and thus, “ with great and pleasant melody of instruments, which played in most sweet and heavenly manner,”^b her majesty passed the bridge about two o’clock, and entered the fortress at the remembered stair, at which, but a few years before she had been brought to land, as an oppressed and hopeless prisoner.

The day of her majesty’s procession from the Tower had been prepared for by the citizens with greater pains and expense than had ever before been witnessed ; and we may draw favorable inferences from being expressly told, that the splendid, and more than usually consistent pageantry and decorations which ornamented the streets on that occasion, were entirely done without the aid of any foreign person.^c

The procession from the Tower began in the afternoon with trumpets and heralds, and we are informed by a contemporary writer, that the queen, previous to her leaving the royal apartments, lifted up her hands towards heaven, and returned most hearty thanks “ to the Almighty and ever living God, that he had been so merciful unto her as to spare her to see that joyful day, acknowledging that he had dealt as mercifully and wonderfully with her, as he did with his true and faithful servant Daniel, the prophet, whom he delivered out of the den, from the cruel and raging lions.”^d Her majesty rode in an open chariot sumptuously adorned, and “ most honorably accompanied, as well with gentlemen, barons, and other nobility of her realm, as also with a notable train of goodly and beautiful ladies, richly appointed.”^e The streets through which this idol of the people had to pass were, as usual, decorated with costly drapery, and lined with the various crafts or companies of the city, “ well apparelled with many rich furs, and their livery hoods upon their shoulders ;”^f and before them stood “ sundry persons clad in silks and chains of gold.”^g In several parts of the city stages and triumphal arches were erected, the designs of which, contrasted with those of former periods, give us a pleasing idea of the improvement in the taste and fashions of the age. The first of these

^a Hollinshed.^b Ibid.^c Continuation of Fabian’s Chron.^d Ibid.^e Hollinshed.^f Ibid.^g Ibid.

was in Fenchurch Street, where her majesty's progress was arrested by a child in costly apparel, who, on behalf of the city, addressed her with a welcoming oration :^a the next was a magnificent arch, spanning the street near Gracechurch, and adorned with "goodly pageaunts," representing the union and emblems of the houses of York and Lancaster : a third in Cornhill, equally magnificent, was denominated "the seate of worthy governaunce;" in which, besides the eight beatitudes, and other representations suitable to the occasion, were the cardinal virtues, treading under foot the opposite vices ; among which, were *Ignorance* and *Superstition*.^b At the standard in Cheapside, the recorder, in the name of the city, presented a thousand marks in gold, in a purse of crimson velvet, as a token of their affectionate loyalty to a sovereign "whose prosperity they wished, and whose protection they implored :"^c there she also received a bible, in English,^d which was let down to her, as if from heaven, by the hand of a child representing *Truth* ; a gift which she accepted with the strongest marks of reverence ; declaring that that gave her more real gratification than all the other endearing proofs that she had that day experienced of her people's love.^e The last and best of all the pageants was another triumphal arch, on which, represented sitting under a palm-tree, was "a seemly mete personage richely apparelled in parliament robes, with a scepter in her hand, as a queen," with the superscription, *Deborah, the judge and restorer of the house of Israel*.^f At Temple-bar, the western limit of the city, the two giants, Gogmagog and Corineus were stationed, with a scroll in Latin verse, expounding the meaning of all the representations that her majesty had previously passed :^g and there, "with her hearty commendations," she bade the citizens farewell.

Such was the queen's procession from the Tower to Westminster, and such were the efforts of the people to give splendour to this gratifying scene ; but how much more welcome to Elizabeth must have been that sincere and unmingled feeling of joy and respect manifested by her subjects in every step of her progress ; and she, by

^a Fabian. Hollinshed. ^b Ibid. ^c Hollinshed. ^d Fabian. Hollinshed.

^e Burnett's Hist. of the Reform., 8vo. vol. ii. p. 594. ^f Hollinshed. ^g Fabian. Hollinshed.

her kind and affable deportment on that day, gained more on the affections of the people than other princes have been able to do by more real and significant arts of grace and favor.^a

After the period of Elizabeth's coronation we do not find that she ever kept her court at the Tower; and the remainder of her reign is barren of any very interesting particulars respecting it, except as a state-prison; in which character it will come hereafter more particularly under our notice. It may be proper, however, generally to mention here, that at no period of our history had it been more constantly thronged with delinquents; and many of these by their rank or fates peculiarly excite our interest.

The conduct of the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln in a conference on certain points in dispute between catholics and protestants, rendered them the first persons of distinction who were confined in the Tower after the queen's accession;^b and shortly afterwards the archbishop of York, several of the bishops, and the abbot of Westminster were also committed to that fortress for refusing to acknowledge her supremacy.^c

^a Burnet's Hist. of the Reform., vol. ii. p. 594.

^b Ibid. p. 510. Stow, p. 632.

^c The following extract from an interesting paper informs us of the periods of their commitment, and a subsequent list of the prisoners in the Tower shews, contrary to the accounts of Burnet and other writers, that they were confined for a no small length of time.

"The names of the prisoners in the Tower, with the causes of their imprisonment briefly set furthe and delivered by sir Edward Warner, knight, lieutenant of y^e said Tower to y^e lords of y^e queen's mat^r privie counsell the 26th of May, 1561."

"Doctor Heathe, late bishop of Yorke, comitted y^e 10th of June, 1560.

Doctor Thirlby, late bishop of Ely, comitted the 3rd of June, 1560.

Doctor Watson, late bishop of Lincolne,

Doctor Pates, late bishop of Worcester,

Doctor Fakenham, late abbot of Westm,

Doctor Turberville, late bishop of Excestre,

Doctor Bourne, late bishop of Bathe,

Mr. Boxall,

} comitted the 20th of May, 1560.

} comitted the 8th of June, 1560."

"The causes of theise 8, foresaide parsons is knowne to your lordships and needithe no further rehersall."

"Prisoners in the Tower the vth of September, 1562, the 4th of Elizabeth."

"The ladie Katherine Grey.

The erle of Hartford.

The erle of Lineux.

Nicholas Heathe, doctor.

Gilberte Browne, doctor.

Jame Turbervill, doctor.

Thomas Watson, doctor.

Thomas Thirlby, doctor.

Richard

On the eleventh of October, 1569, Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk was committed thither^a for his intended marriage with Mary, queen of Scots, without his sovereign's consent; but, having promised to relinquish that design, and 'the plague beginning to wax hot in the Tower,'^b he was released from that fortress about the middle of the following year, and allowed to retire to his own residence at the Charter-house,^c under the easy custody of sir Henry Nevil.^d Soon afterwards, however, he was drawn into a conspiracy by the bishop of Ross and others, for seizing the person of her majesty, surprising the Tower, and setting the queen of Scots at liberty;^e and this being discovered, he was again committed in the month of September, 1572, and in January following was brought to trial in Westminster-hall, and condemned for high treason.^f After sentence had been passed upon him by the earl of Shrewsbury, the high steward of England, he was remanded to his prison in the Tower, and, after a respite of several months, was executed on the adjoining hill.^g

Other of the most distinguished prisoners confined in the Tower in the time of queen Elizabeth, were Philip Howard, earl of Arundel; Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland; Sir Walter Raleigh; the earls of Essex, Rutland, and Southampton; lords Sandes and Mount-eagle, and sir Charles Danvers.^h—The case of the earl of Arundel will be hereafter introduced by the interesting autographs left on the walls of his prison.ⁱ The groundwork of his offences seems to have been his known and immoveable attachment to the ancient religion of his country, and for a conscientious adherence to his faith he ended his days in captivity.—The earl of Northumberland, who was committed in the year 1585, on suspicion of plotting with Throckmorton, lord Paget, and the Guises, for invading England and setting the queen

Richard Pates, doctor.

John Fecknam, doctor.

John Boxall, doctor.

Henry Howard.

S^r Thomas Stradlinge, knight.

Leonard Bilson, clerke.

Francis Yaxlee.

Arthure Lallarde.

George Chamberlayne.

Thomas Valence.

John Keyle.

James Goldborne.

Francis Saunders.

Robarte Goddarde.^g

Stow. Hollinshed. Camden.

^d Camden.

^e Camden, in I.

^b Camden.

^f Camden. Stow. Hollinshed.

^c Stow. Hollinshed.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ See Lodge's Illustrations of British History, vol. iii. p. 120.

^j See the description of the Beauchamp Tower, in Section II.

of Scotland at liberty,^a came to a tragical end. He may be truly said to have gone "indignant to the shades;" for, to prevent the bitch, as he termed queen Elizabeth, from getting possession of his estate, by his attainder, he secretly procured a pistol, and so put a period to his existence:^b but, notwithstanding that a coroner's inquest was taken, and it was satisfactorily proved that his door was found barred on the inside, and that a pistol and gunpowder were discovered in the chamber, his man produced who bought the pistol, and the person that sold it,^c suspicions were still entertained, particularly by the Roman Catholics, that he fell by some foul play on the part of government.^d—Raleigh came into disgrace through his amours with the beautiful Elizabeth, daughter of sir Nicholas Throckmorton, one of the maids of honour to the queen; for which he was committed to the Tower in 1592; but his imprisonment was only of short duration, and he was immediately afterwards united to the object of his affections, and restored to her majesty's favor.—Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, the celebrated favorite of Elizabeth, was a prisoner in consequence of his well-known rebellion in the early part of the year 1601; for which his royal mistress, after a long struggle between love and fear, consigned him to the block. He was tried and condemned in Westminster-hall on the nineteenth of February, and on the twenty-fifth of the same month was beheaded within the Tower.^e—The earls of Southampton and Rutland, and the other prisoners were the friends and companions of Essex, and their concern in his fatal insurrection brought them to these dismal abodes; but they were all spared, except Danvers, who, although he had offered ten thousand pounds to save his life, died with much calmness and fortitude, on the scaffold.^f

On the accession of king James the First, and shortly after his arrival in London, he held his court for a short time at the Tower, and delivered the earl of Southampton from his imprisonment; but previous

^a Camden.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid.

^d "Certe boni quam plurimi tum quod naturâ nobilitati faveant, tum quod præclaram fortitudinis laudem retulisset, tantum virum tam misera et miseranda morte periisse, indoluerunt. Quæ suspicaces profugi de ballivo quodam ex Hattoni famulis, qui paulo ante comiti custos adhibitus, mussitarunt, ut parum compertum omitto, nec ex vanis auditionibus aliquid intexere visum est."

—Camden.

^e Camden. See Accounts of Distinguished Prisoners, in Part II.

^f Camden.

to the ceremony of his coronation, he "rode not through the city in royal manner as had been accustomed,"^a by reason of the plague, which was then so spreading its ravages through the capital, that eight hundred and fifty-seven persons died that week in the city and its suburbs;^b as the citizens, however, had made their preparations for the occasion James was not willing to disappoint them, and therefore, on the fifteenth of March, 1604,^c he "passed triumphantly from the Tower to Westminster," with the queen and his son, prince Henry, preparatory to the opening of his first parliament.^d His majesty rode on "a white gennet under a rich canopie," borne by six members of the privy council, and the city was adorned with all the costly magnificence usual on these occasions.^e

King James appears to have frequently visited the Tower, and he and the queen sometimes indulged themselves there in witnessing combats of the wild beasts; a cruel amusement in which he seems to have taken a great but unmanly pleasure.^f

In the reign of this monarch there are but very few incidents connected with the Tower that are worthy of particular notice, excepting such as relate to celebrated characters, who, during that period, were confined within its walls as prisoners. Among these were the brave and adventurous, but deep and revengeful Raleigh; lords Cobham and Grey; Henry earl of Northumberland; lady Arabella Stuart, and sir Thomas Overbury.^g—The three former were charged with a design to subvert the government and religion of the country, and after a trial in which justice seems to have been subservient to the dictates of the court, they were condemned, with several others, for high treason. Raleigh, after many years' captivity in the Tower, during which he employed himself in compiling his *History of the World*, and other works that proceeded from his pen,^h was finally brought to the block to gratify the malice of his enemies. Lord Grey died a prisoner in the Tower; and lord Cobham, sir Griffin Markham, and others implicated in this mysterious matter, were restored to liberty, but ended their lives

^a Stow's Annals, by Howe, p. 827.

^b Ibid.

^c Camden's Annals of King James I. Howe, p. 837.

^d Kennet, vol. ii. p. 667.

^e Howe, p. 837. Kennet, p. 667.

^f Howe, pp. 824, 865, 894. Kennet, vol. ii. p. 667.

^g See Accounts of Distinguished Prisoners, in Part II.

^h Birch and Cayley's Lives of Sir Walter Raleigh. Kennet, vol. ii. p. 663, &c.

in wretchedness.^a—The earl of Northumberland, who was committed in the year 1604, for having concealed his cousin, sir Thomas Percy, a leader in the gunpowder plot, was deprived of all his employments, fined thirty thousand pounds, and by an imprisonment in the Tower for upwards of fourteen years, farther atoned for his crime.^b—Lady Arabella Stuart was the only child of Charles Stuart, earl of Lennox, uncle to king James I., and her affinity to the crown made her an object of royal jealousy. The dread of her leaving any legitimate offspring was an inducement to queen Elizabeth, and a stronger one to her successor, to prevent her marriage; but at length she became privately wedded to sir William Seymour, grandson of the earl of Hertford, and this was no sooner known, than she was confined in the house of sir Thomas Parry, at Lambeth, and her husband committed to the Tower: shortly afterwards, however, they contrived an escape, both on the third of June, 1611, and he arrived safely in Flanders; but the lady Arabella was retaken in Calais road, and conveyed to the Tower of London; where the sense of her unmerited oppressions, heightened by the horrors of a prison, brought on mental derangement, and in that state she languished till the twenty-seventh of September, 1615,^c when she was released by death; and without any funeral ceremony, was buried in the same vault with her ill-fated relative, Mary queen of Scots.^d—Sir Thomas Overbury's imprisonment in the Tower was occasioned by the intrigues of his former friend and patron, Carr, viscount Rochester, afterwards earl of Somerset, and he there came to a violent death by the machinations of the countess of Essex, that nobleman's detested paramour;^e for which all the parties were afterwards committed to the Tower, and some of them suffered, particularly sir Gervase Elwyas, who, being lieutenant of the fortress at the time, and privy to the murder, was hanged on Tower-hill.^f

^a Kennet, vol. ii. p. 663. Camden's Annals of James I.

^b Kennet, vol. ii. p. 719.

^c Camden's Annals of James I. Lodge's Illust. of Brit. Hist. vol. iii. p. 178.

^d Camden's Annals of James I.

^e Sir Thomas Overbury had been Carr's secretary and confidant, but had lost his friendship and incurred the insatiable enmity of the countess of Essex his paramour, by advising him against marrying such a woman.

^f Howe's Chronicle. Rapin's Hist. of England. Weldon's Court of King James I.

In the reign of king Charles the First, the differences which arose between him and his parliament, and which finally brought that monarch to the block, occasioned the frequent mention of the Tower; not only as the prison of many of the leading characters in those transactions, but as a place of strength and of importance to the contending parties.

It would be unnecessary here to enter into a detail of all the proceedings which led to the troubles of this unhappy æra: suffice it to say that the king had scarcely ascended the throne,^a when the commons began to manifest a spirit of turbulent independence, which gained power and influence from the imprudent and oppressive measures of the king, in some instances, and his want of firmness and discretion in others.

In 1629, Denzil Hollis and several other members of the House of Commons were committed to the Tower as close prisoners, for their violent conduct in the house on the question of tonnage and poundage;^b and, shortly afterwards the king dissolved the parliament, intending, as is supposed, never to call another.^c His distresses, however, were such as to compel him, in 1640, to alter that resolution; and from this period we may date the beginning of those civil contentions which soon afterwards deluged the country in so much blood and misery. Complaints were brought against that great but unfortunate peer, the earl of Strafford, as well as his fellow-sufferer, Laud, archbishop of Canterbury; and both these virtuous men were committed to close prison in the Tower.^d After a trial, which lasted eighteen days, a bill of attainder was passed against the earl, and on the twelfth of May, 1641, he was led out of the Tower to the scaffold on the adjoining hill, and there met his fate with composed undaunted courage;^e and the archbishop, after tasting of the very

^a King Charles the First succeeded his father on the twenty-eighth of March, 1625, and was crowned at Westminster in February, 1626; but the accustomed ceremony of proceeding in state from the Tower to Westminster was again set aside in consequence of the plague, which had revisited the capital with all its horrors, and was daily carrying off hundreds of its wretched people.

^b Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 12.

^c Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 67. Weldon's Court of King Charles, p. 194.

^d Heath's Chronicle, p. 16, 17. ^e Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebel., vol. i. p. 259.

dregs of persecution and tyranny, came, on the same spot, to a like unhappy end.^a

Charles, now perceiving the dangers that were gathering round him, placed a garrison of four hundred men in the Tower, and gave the command to lord Cottington; but finding that this measure produced great discontent among the people, he withdrew the garrison, and removing the new-appointed constable, left the fortress, as before, under the charge of sir William Balfour, the lieutenant.^b But Balfour, who had forgotten his obligations to the king, and had conducted himself in a manner unbecoming his trust,^c was shortly afterwards displaced, and sir Thomas Lunsford, appointed to the lieutenancy of the Tower in his room. This, however, gave still greater offence to the Londoners, that they formed the design of seizing the citadel by force, had not the king taken the keys from his favorite, and given the command to sir John Byron.^d

Both parties had now begun to resort to measures of a violent nature, and every day rendered wider the breach between the king and his people. For redressing grievances; punishing delinquents; and the abolition of episcopacy, was every where the cry of the frantic multitudes; and this having led some of the bishops to frame a protestation to the lords, ten of them were committed to the Tower.^e

Still dissatisfied, the Londoners presented a petition to the king complaining of the putting out of persons of honor and trust from being constable and lieutenant of the Tower; the calling in of cannoneers, and other preparations made in that fortress:^f to which the king replied, "that having removed a servant of trust from that charge, only to satisfy the city, and put in another of unquestionable reputation and known ability, he wondered that the petitioners should still entertain fears; and whatever preparation of strength was there made, was with as great an eye to the safety and advantage of the city, as to his own person, and should be equally employed for both.^g The application of the citizens being therefore refused, the subject was next taken up by the house of commons; but meeting

^a See Account of Distinguished Prisoners, in Part II.

^b Whitelock, pp. 36, 37.

^c Clarendon, vol. i. p. 368.

^d Ibid. Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. iv. p. 462.

^e Heath's Chronicle, p. 26.

Clarendon, vol. i. p. 370.

^f Ibid. p. 371.

with no better success, the sheriffs of London, with the advice of major-general Skippon, were directed to blockade the Tower to prevent the procuring of provisions, and the carrying away of arms or ammunition.^a The king, however, still remained firm in his resolution, and the commons soon afterwards, in the name of the whole parliament, prepared an address, praying that his majesty would presently put the Tower of London into the hands of such a person as both houses should recommend to him: but to this the lords objected, on the ground "that the disposal of the custody thereof was the king's peculiar right and prerogative, as likewise that his majesty had committed the charge of it to sir John Byron, a person of very ancient family, and of as unblemished a reputation as any gentleman of England."^b The commons, notwithstanding, still pressed the king, and at length succeeded in obtaining that office for sir John Conyers,^c who was an officer of great estimation, and had been lieutenant-general of the horse in the last expedition against the Scots, and governor of Berwick. The parliament thought, by this obligation, to have made him their own creature, and hoped to have engaged him in some active command in their armies, having the reputation of the best cavalry officer of the day: but he 'warily declined such services, contenting himself with his situation, which, by reason of the multitudes of prisoners sent to the Tower by the two houses, and the excessive fees they paid, yielded him vast profit; but after a time, discerning that he should be obliged to engage in the parliament's service, and abhorring to take a part in the actions he constantly saw committed, he requested leave from the two houses to resign his charge, and to retire into Holland, the place of his education and fortune:' and this proposal being accepted, they immediately committed the Tower to the custody of sir Isaac Pennington, the lord-mayor, "that the citizens might see that they were trusted to hold their own reins, and had a jurisdiction committed to them which had always clashed with their own."^d

This change took place in 1643, and from that time the Tower remained in the hands of the parliamentary faction till 1647, when, the army having gained the ascendancy, it was put into the posses-

^a Clarendon, vol. i. p. 384. Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 480.

^b Clarendon, vol. i. p. 399.

^c Ibid.

^d Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. ii. p. 342.

sion of sir Thomas Fairfax, with the title of constable ;^a and he appointed, as lieutenant under himself, colonel Tichebourn, whose name is loaded with infamy, by being one of the celebrated junta that tried and condemned their king.

In 1648, hopes were entertained of restoring tranquillity to the country, by opening negotiations with the king, who was then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight ; and among the conditions proposed by the parliament on that occasion, was one, that for ten years after the conclusion of the treaty the Tower should be put under the government of the city of London ; and its chief officers, during that period, be nominated and removable by the common council :^b and to this, as well as other galling stipulations, the wretched monarch was induced to give assent ; but all in vain : the conferences were broken off, and the lamentable end is known. Charles terminated his life upon the block ; and sir Thomas Fairfax having resigned his commissions in the following year,^c the Tower came into the hands of Oliver Cromwell, who appointed, as his lieutenant, sir John Berkstead ;^d one of the regicides,^e and a member of parliament during his master's protectorate.^f

In the year 1659, during the confusions which preceded the happy event of king Charles the Second's restoration, the soldiers in London having professed their resolution to live and die with the parliament, and never more to swerve from their fidelity to it,^g Lenthal, the speaker, ' recovered his spirits, and, after conferring with the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and assuring them that the parliament would meet again in a few days,' he went to the Tower, and by his own authority, removed the lieutenant who had been confirmed there by the committee of safety, and put sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and other members of the parliament into the government and command of that fortress :^h but, soon afterwards, when general Monk had declared for king Charles the Second ; he took possession of the Tower in the name of his sove-

^a Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, p. 141.

^b Ibid. p. 185.

^c Ibid. 268.

^d Ibid. p. 374.

^e He was, on that account, hanged, bowelled, and quartered in 1662, and his head on a pole, was upon Traitor's-gate, in the Tower.—Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, p. 506.

^f Ibid. p. 400.

^g Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 705.

^h Ibid. p. 706.

reign, discharged a great number of prisoners,^a and placed a strong garrison there, under the command of major Nicholas, whom he knew to be steadily attached to the royal cause.^b

King Charles the Second returned into England on the twenty-fifth of May, 1660; and he shortly afterwards committed the Tower to the charge of sir John Robinson, knight, who long enjoyed with that office the countenance and favor of his sovereign, to whom he had been a steady adherent through all the vicissitudes of his public life.

At the coronation of king Charles the Second the ancient custom of proceeding in state through the city to Westminster was again observed, and the magnificence and taste displayed on that occasion surpassed all those gorgeous spectacles that we have so frequently had occasion to notice in these formal processions from the Tower. The twenty-third of April, 1661, being appointed for this solemnity, the king came to the Tower by water, from White-hall, early on the preceding morning, and he thence made his majestic progress the same day through the city to Westminster.^c There attended upon the king at the Tower, all the nobility; the great officers of state, and of the royal household, and the principal gentry of the kingdom. The procession began from the Tower in the afternoon, with all the law and other officers of the crown, the judges, the master of the rolls; the knights of the bath, in the habit of their order; the great officers of the royal household; the sons of peers, according to their rank, and the peers in their different degrees, attended by heralds and officers at arms: after these and the lord treasurer, the lord chancellor, and lord chamberlain, rode two persons, representing the dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine; then the gentleman usher; garter-king at arms, and the lord mayor of London: next to them was the duke of York; and immediately before the king rode the earls of Northumberland and Lindsey as lord high constable and lord

^a The prisoners confined in the Tower during this period by the parliament and army, were so numerous, that to attempt an account of them would almost fill a volume: the most distinguished, however, will be noticed in the concluding part of this work, in speaking of the Tower in its character as a state-prison.

^b Heath's Chronicle, p. 441.

^c Ibid. p. 483.

high steward of England, and the duke of Richmond, bearing the sword : next about the king were his equerries and footmen, and then the gentlemen and pensioners. After these rode the duke of Albemarle, as master of the king's horse ; the king's vice-chamberlain, and the captains of the pensioners and guard ; and the procession closed with the life-guards, commanded by lord Gerrard and sir Philip Howard, and volunteer horse and foot under the command of sir John Robinson the lieutenant of the Tower.

To increase the splendour of these ceremonies there were created five earls and six barons ; and sixty-eight gentlemen, many of whom were sons of the nobility, were made knights of the bath. These attended upon the king in the Tower, and rode before him with their esquires and pages in the procession to Westminster, clad in " mantles and surcoats of red taffeta, lined and edged with white sarcenet, and thereto fastened two long strings of white silk, with buttons and tassels of red silk and gold, and a pair of white gloves tied to them ; white hats and feathers."^a

The streets were, as usual, lined with the different companies of the city in their liveries, and attended with their banners and music, and the houses richly adorned with tapestry. Four triumphal arches were erected in different parts of the city ; the first of which represented the happy event of the king's landing at Dover ; and the three others, which stood in Cornhill, Cheapside, and Fleet-street, were emblematical of commerce, concord, and plenty.

The king was every where received with the strongest demonstrations of loyalty ; and the magnificence of the procession was no less the joy than amazement of all spectators : indeed, says a contemporary,^b "it were in vain to attempt to describe this solemnity : it was so far from being utterable, that it was almost inconceivable ; and much wonder it caused to outlandish persons, who were acquainted with our late troubles and confusions, how it was possible for the English to appear in so rich and stately a manner ;" for, continues he, "it is incredible to think what costly clothes were worn that day : the cloaks could hardly be seen what silk or satin they were made of, for the gold and silver laces and embroidery that were laid

^a Heath, p. 481.

^b Ibid. p. 484.

upon them ; besides the inestimable value and treasures of diamonds, pearls, and other jewels, worn upon their backs and in their hats : to omit the sumptuous and rich liveries of their pages and footmen ; the numerousness of these liveries, and their orderly march ; as also the stately equipage of the esquires attending each earl by his horse's side : so that all the world that saw it, could not but confess, that what they had seen before, was but solemn mummary to the most august, noble, and true glories of this great day :^a even the vaunting French confessed their pomps of the late marriage with the Infanta of Spain, at their majesties' entrance into Paris, to be inferior in state, gallantry, and riches, to this most glorious cavalcade from the Tower.'^b

During the period of the late usurpation, whoever was suspected of attachment to the cause of the exiled king, or of being adverse to the measures of the commonwealth, he was instantly committed to the Tower ; and so great was the number of prisoners at some times confined there, that several were, in consequence, enabled to make their escape ; others fell victims to their stedfast loyalty ; and those who remained prisoners till the restoration, were then released, and their places filled by the regicides, and others who were excepted in his majesty's pardon : of whom many suffered death as traitors ; some at Charing-cross, others at Tyburn, and sir Henry Vane was beheaded on Tower-hill.^c

In the year 1666, colonel Rathborne and several officers or soldiers in the late rebellion, entered into a conspiracy for surprising the Tower, and the commission of other acts of high treason ; but their plot was discovered, and eight of them were tried and executed at Tyburn. They were indicted for "conspiring the king's death, and the overthrow of the government ; having, in his majesty's absence from the city laid their plans for taking the Tower, killing general

^a Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, p. 484.

^b Ibid. p. 482.

^c We are told, that in consequence of the late firmness, and the appearance of piety with which many of the regicides suffered, ' it was observed, that their dying speeches had left impressions on their hearers, that were not at all to the advantage of government ; and, as strains of a peculiar nature were expected from sir Henry Vane, drummers were placed under the scaffold, who, as soon as he began to speak of the public, upon a sign given, struck up their drums to drown the sound of his voice.'—*Burnet's History of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 124.—*Kennet*, vol. iii. p. 256.

Monk; sir John Robinson, the lieutenant of the Tower; and sir Richard Brown, the major-general of the city; and then to have declared for an equal division of lands. The better to effect this design, the city was to have been fired, and the portcullices to have been let down to keep out all assistance; the horse-guards were to have been disarmed at the inns where they were quartered, and several hostlers had been gained over for that purpose."* The Tower had been viewed, and its surprisal ordered by means of boats across the moat, and scaling ladders to mount the walls. It was supposed that persons of consequence in this country were secretly their abettors, and that their proceedings were directed by a supreme council, which sat with the states in Holland. The third of September was pitched upon for the attempt, "as being found by a scheme, erected for that purpose, a lucky day; a planet then ruling, which portended the downfall of monarchy!"^b

In the same year, during the memorable fire of London, the greatest apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the Tower, as the flames almost reached the very gates;^c but, by the timely precaution that was taken of pulling down all the houses on the outside of the ditch and upon the walls, and by the changing of the wind, which turned the flames in a different direction, it was fortunately saved from destruction.^d

After this period, the history of the Tower unconnected with its character as a state-prison,^e presents but very few circumstances that are worthy of particular notice.^f On the accession of James the

* Heath's Chron. p. 550.

^b Ibid. London Gazette, 30 April.

^c Heath's Chron. p. 554.

^d Ibid. Clar. Life, p. 349.

^e The most distinguished persons confined in the Tower during the reign of king James the Second, were the duke of Monmouth; the seven bishops; and the lord chancellor, Jefferies. The former was imprisoned and beheaded for his attempt to overturn the despotic power of that monarch; the bishops were confined, for the noble stand that they made in defence of the Protestant religion; and Jefferies, as the instrument and assistant of his master's tyranny, ended his days a prisoner. Many other celebrated characters have since been confined in the Tower as prisoners, but of these we shall speak hereafter.—See Account of Distinguished Prisoners, in Part II.

^f The only particulars worthy of mention connected with the Tower after this period, are these:—when king James the Second quitted the capital previous to his abdication, in the year 1688, the possession of the Tower was secured in favor of the prince of Orange, and the command of it given to lord Lucas; and in 1792, in consequence of the fears that were then entertained of an insurrection, many precautions were taken for the defence of the Tower; its gar-

Second, the usual ceremony of the king's keeping his court there, and proceeding thence through the city to Westminster, preparatory to his coronation, was not observed, nor has it since been revived; in consequence of the enormous expenses which it always occasioned the city as well as government. From this time also we may date the total fall of the Tower from the dignity of a royal residence: all the domestic apartments of the ancient palace having been taken down during the reigns of king James the Second, and William and Mary, none of our sovereigns have ever since made it the place of their abode, and, from the little attention that is now paid to its original character, in the making of alterations or repairs, it is to be feared, that at the end of another century, it will retain but very few features of its former grandeur.

rison was greatly increased; several hundred men were employed in repairing the fortifications, opening embrasures, and mounting cannon; and on the western side of the fortress, a strong barrier was formed with old casks, filled with earth and rubble; the gates were closed at an early hour, and no one but the military allowed to go upon the ramparts.

THE END OF THE FIRST SECTION.

SECTION II.

Local Description.

THE Tower has already been described as situated on the northern bank of the Thames, at the eastward extremity of the city of London; and so constructed as to command the course of that river, and to defend the maritime approach to the capital, whilst it overawed the factious spirit of the citizens—the primary objects, perhaps, of its foundation.

The fortifications, which consist of a citadel, or keep, encompassed by an inner and outer ward, occupy rather more than twelve acres of land; and are surrounded by a broad and deep ditch supplied with water from the river Thames. Adjoining the fortress, there is also an open plot of ground of considerable extent called Tower-hill; a spot distinguished in the annals of our country, as stained with its best and noblest blood.* This space, together with that immediately occupied by the fortifications, is of the ancient demesne of the crown, and forms an independent liberty or jurisdiction, enjoying peculiar rights and privileges, which will be the subject of future observations.

The principal entrance to the Tower is over a stone bridge^b at the south west angle of the inclosure; there are also two drawbridges on the south side, communicating with a platform, or wharf, which separates the fortifications from the Thames; and a private entrance by water under a strong tower called Traitor's Gate; the way by

* The era of its being appropriated to the execution of state criminals appears to have been the reign of king Richard the Second, and from that period it was the usual scene of those tragedies for many succeeding ages; but happier and more enlightened days have closed it, it is hoped, for ever. The last who ended their lives there by the more honorable death of the axe, were the earl of Kilmarnock and lord Balmerino, in 1746, and the infamous lord Lovat, in the following year.

^b A large drawbridge formerly occupied this place.

which, in former times, state prisoners were usually conveyed into the fortress.

Beyond the ditch, on the west, there anciently stood some considerable outworks, which formed the barbican — the post of an advanced guard, and where a porter was stationed to keep watch and ward, to announce in form all state arrivals at the gates of the fortress, and to detain strangers till their business was made known to the governor, and orders received for their admission. Some remains of these ceremonies, which in the days of chivalry were observed at most great castles, with much attention, existed here even at so late a period as the reign of king James the First, but are now almost wholly forgotten.

A small moat, connecting itself with that which surrounds the body of the fortress, inclosed these outworks, most of which, either from decay or for convenience, have been removed; and their site is now chiefly occupied by the royal menagerie, which will be noticed more particularly in a future page.

The entrance to the principal bridge is covered by a strong tower flanked with bastions, and the gate-way under it was formerly defended with a double portcullis. At the opposite end of the bridge another portal, similar in construction and defences to that last mentioned, forms the principal entry to the outer ward. These, however, were not the only precautions for the safety of the garrison in case of siege or surprise; for, if an enemy forced a passage through the outward gates, crossed the moat, and entered the exterior ward, there were still difficulties to encounter: two other gates were then to be passed before he could approach the well-fortified entrance to the inner ballium; and, on the left, there was also a strong gate-way, and further on, a second, to prevent his proceeding in that direction, and getting possession of the outer line of fortifications.^a

The inner ward, which contained the royal apartments and all the most considerable buildings of the fortress, is entered on the south side, by a fine arched gate-way in the style of architecture of the fourteenth century. It was inclosed by a lofty wall^b of stone, em-

^a These inner portals have long since been taken down: two of them adjoined the Bell Tower; one on the south and the other on the west sides: the site of the former is now partly occupied by the warder's lodge, and that of the latter by a canteen.—*See the ancient general plan of the Tower.*

^b It is about forty feet high, and varies from its base upwards, from twelve to nine feet in



Engraved by J. Dyer.

Drawn by F. Nash.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, AS IT APPEARED IN 1834.

Printed by J. W. Smith.

battled, and strengthened with thirteen small towers, properly situated for commanding the intermediate lines of rampart. A great portion of this wall is still extant, and most of the towers remain nearly in their original state, each of which will be described hereafter, under their particular names.

THE WHITE TOWER.

The principal and most ancient part of the present fortress is the citadel, or keep, which stands near the center of the inner ward: this majestic pile appears to have been raised under the direction of that celebrated military architect, Gundulph, bishop of Rochester, by command of king William the Conqueror,^a about the year 1080 or 1081. It is denominated Cæsar's, or the White Tower; but most commonly known by the latter appellation,^b which, in all probability, originated in a custom that existed at a very early period of whitening the exterior of its walls.^c

The White Tower is a large and massive quadrangular edifice

thickness. There was a commodious foot-way on the top, for the military, with ascents to it by flights of steps at convenient distances on the inside.

^a Textus Roffensis, p. 212. edit. Hearnii.

^b It was generally known by that name as early, at least, as the reign of king Edward III. which appears by a survey taken of the fortress in 1335; wherein it is styled "La Blaunche Tour."

^c This appears from the following curious order given for its repair in the year 1241:

Rex custodibus operationis Turris London'; salutem. Præcipimus vobis quod gernerium infra eandem turrim reparari et benè emendari faciatis per totum, ubi necesse fuerit: et omnes gutteras plumbeas magnæ turris à summitate ejusdem turris, per quas aqua pluvix descendere deberet, usque ad terram extendere faciatis et descendere; ita quod murus dictæ turris, per aquam pluvix distillantem, *qui de novo est dealbatus*, nullo modo possit deperire, nec de facili prorumpere: et fieri faciatis super eandem turrim in parte australi superius versus austrum, imas aluras de bono et forti maeremio et per totum benè plumbari, per quas gentes videre possint usque pedem ejusdem turris, et ascendere, et meliùs defendere, si necesse fuerit. Dealbari etiam faciatis totam capellam Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ in eadem turri; et fieri faciatis in eadem capella tres fenestras vitreas, unam, scilicet, ex parte boreali cum quadam Mariola tenente puerum suum, reliqua in parte australi de Trinitate; et tertiam de Sancto Johanne Apostolo et Evangelista in eadem parte australi; et depingi faciatis patibulum et trabem ultra altare ejusdem capellæ benè et bonis coloribus; et fieri faciatis et depingi duas ymages pulcras ubi meliùs et decentiùs fieri possint in eadem capella, unam de Sancto Edwardo tenentem anulum et donantem et tendentem Sancto Johanni Evangelistæ. *Et dealbari faciatis totum veterem murum circa sæpeditam turrim nostram.* Et custum quod ad hoc posueritis per visum et testimonium legalium hominum computabitur vobis ad scaccarium. T. R. apud Windles' x^o. die Decembris.—*Rot. Liberat. 25 Hen. III. m. 20. in Turr. Lond.*

occupying an area of 116 feet north and south, and 96 feet east and west; and at the east end, in continuation of the south wall, is a semicircular projection of considerable diameter, which extends to the summit of the building.

The elevation of this structure is 92 feet; it is embattled, and its angles are finished with turrets, which rise considerably above the roof. Those at the north-west and south-west angles are square, with a slight projection; that at the south-east is built on the summit of the wall, and the one at the north-east angle, which was formerly called the observatory,* is an irregular circle, projecting materially from the face of the main building, and containing the grand stair which communicates with each of the floors from the vaults to the roof.

The thickness of the walls is considerably increased near the base by a bold deep splay; from the lower angle whereof, and in continuation of the projecting face produced by it, rise broad simple buttresses, terminating a little below the battlement, and dividing the intervals between the turrets into compartments, of which on the north side there are four, on the south five, on the east three, (besides the semicircular termination, and the round turret, both of which are strengthened by small buttresses rising to the same altitude), and on the west five.

In its outer elevation, the tower is divided into three stories, with corresponding lights, some of which in the middle story are distinguished from those belonging to the other floors by being placed within semicircular recessed arches extending from buttress to buttress. At present there are two entrances, one on the north side, and the other on the south; both of which are evidently much more modern than the date of the building; but over the former are indications of an arch of more ample dimensions, which seems to point

* This turret is the largest and most commodious of the four, and, probably, took the name of the Observatory from the circumstance of Flamstead, the great astronomer in the reign of king Charles the Second, having practised here before the establishment of the royal observatory at Greenwich; for we are told that sir Jonas Moor, having taken him under his patronage when he was scarcely able to subsist in his college at Cambridge, "planted him in the Tower, with accommodation in the ordnance, of which sir Jonas was an officer, procured him instruments, and at last settled him in the new-built observatory at Greenwich."—*See North's Life of lord keeper Guildford, p. 286.*

out the situation and size of the original grand entrance. The exterior has undergone so many repairs that it is now difficult to trace any part of its primitive character: the windows, particularly those belonging to the two first stories, have been greatly increased in dimensions, and the surface has been so generally coated with a mixture of flints, mortar, rubble-work, and modern masonry, as to leave but little of the original mode of construction visible. In some parts, however, of the south and east sides, just above the projecting base or splay, two courses of beautiful well-squared stone are occasionally met with, laid in beds of mortar composed of lime and sea sand, containing shells and small pieces of flint, and forming a joint of about three quarters of an inch in thickness; but whether this finished masonry was continued higher or not, is now difficult to determine, though some detached fragments of it, which are to be seen in other parts of the building at different elevations, render it extremely probable that all or a great portion of the exterior facing was of a similar nature.

On the south side of the building, in the upper story, there are four windows, which, as they differ from all the others and retain more of the original character, deserve particular notice. They are composed of semicircular arches, two between each adjoining buttress, and at present a small square pier with a square impost moulding subdivides each into two small lights, with semicircular heads.

Within the thickness of the wall,* on the same side of the structure, is a circular stair forming a communication with the chambers that belong to the Record Office; but the present entrance to it from without being of comparatively modern date, it is more probable that it antiently formed a private communication between some particular parts of the tower, than that it led to an original exit.

The interior of the White Tower is divided longitudinally, from its base to the summit, by a wall seven feet thick; and another division is also formed by a similar wall extending from the preceding one to the eastern exterior wall, dividing the area into three

* The exterior walls of the White Tower average at the base fifteen feet in thickness, and the depth of the buttresses being taken out of them above the splay, reduces them, from that point upwards, about fourteen inches.

apartments; one of which occupies the entire west side of the building; a great portion of the eastern side forms the second, and the third embraces the south-east, or projecting angle above described.^a It is divided in its altitude into four stories, including the vaults, and a communication is formed between each of them by the spacious stairs in the circular turret at the north-east angle of the structure.^b Of the vaults little can be said, as every feature of originality, in the two largest at least, has been destroyed by alterations which have been made to adapt them to their present purposes.^c

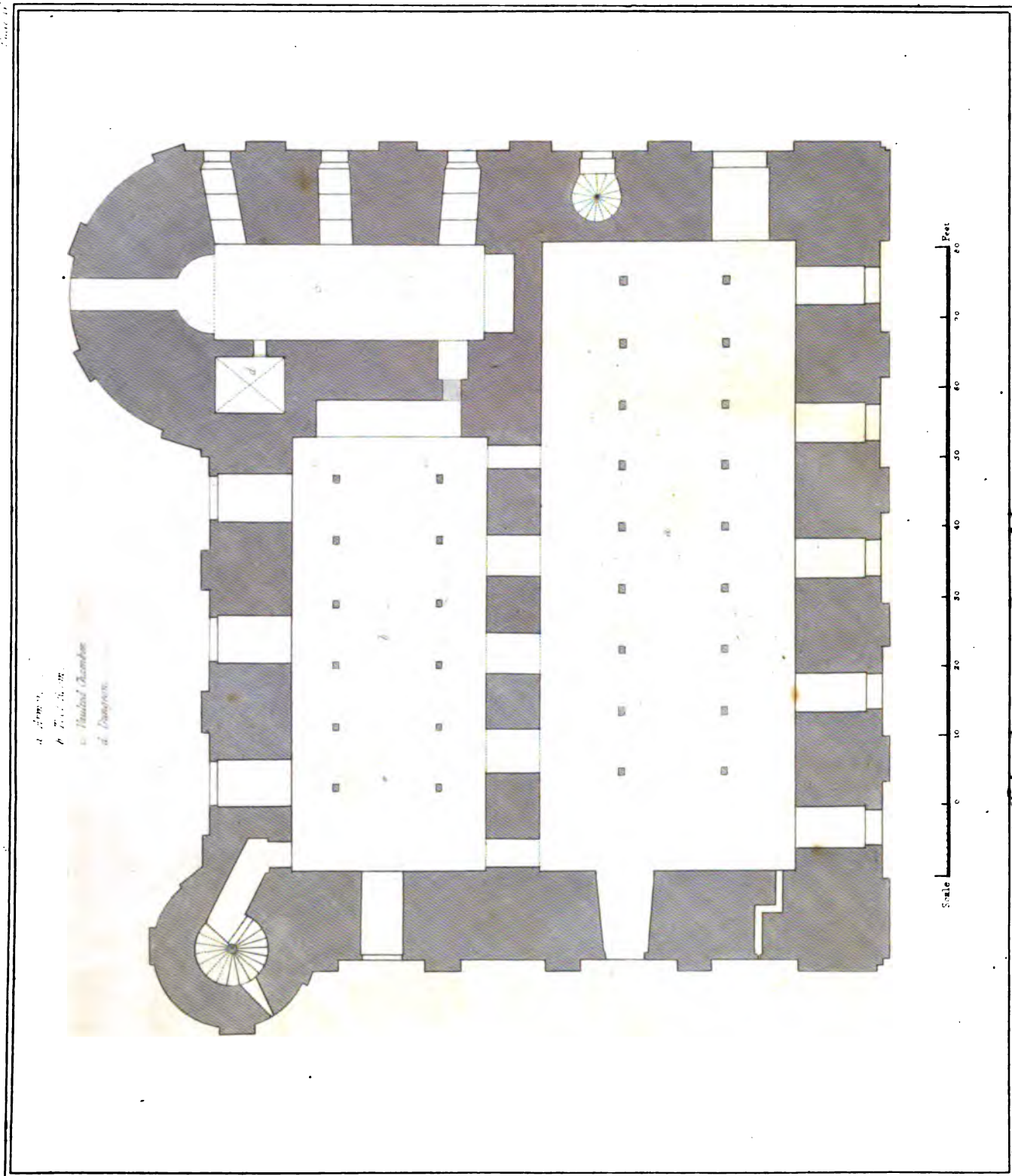
The first floor, according to the interior division above described, consists of two large apartments, and a smaller one, distinguished from the others by having a semicircular termination, and a vaulted roof of the same form,^d extremely plain in its appearance, but exhibiting a highly interesting specimen of early construction. The vault looks as if made of large stones placed longitudinally in the direction of the room; but, on examination, proves to be composed of comparatively small flat stones fixed wedgewise in a deep bed of cement, composed of similar materials to that already noticed as used in the masonry of the exterior. The frame-work or centering on which the roof was constructed, seems clearly to have been made of slabs of timber, and this being covered with a thick bed of cement, previous to laying any stones, and then being allowed to remain till the whole had become dry and consolidated; has given to the roof that appearance of regular stone-work which is above described. The springing of the vault is not in continuation with the face of the wall, as is usual, but recedes, so as to afford space for the edge of the centering to rest on the top; a circumstance which gives to all the vaults in this building an approximation to the horse-shoe form. This kind of vaulting, as far as has hitherto been discovered, appears to be unique: it is possible, however, that other examples of it may yet be found in buildings of a corresponding date. Light was admitted to this apartment by four narrow loops or windows with semicircular heads; but

^a See the annexed plans.

^b There is an exterior entrance to this staircase formed by a passage cut through the solid wall, and closed with a flat pointed arch, which shews the date of this alteration to be about the time of king Henry VIII.

^c They are at present used as store rooms for saltpetre.

^d See Plate V.



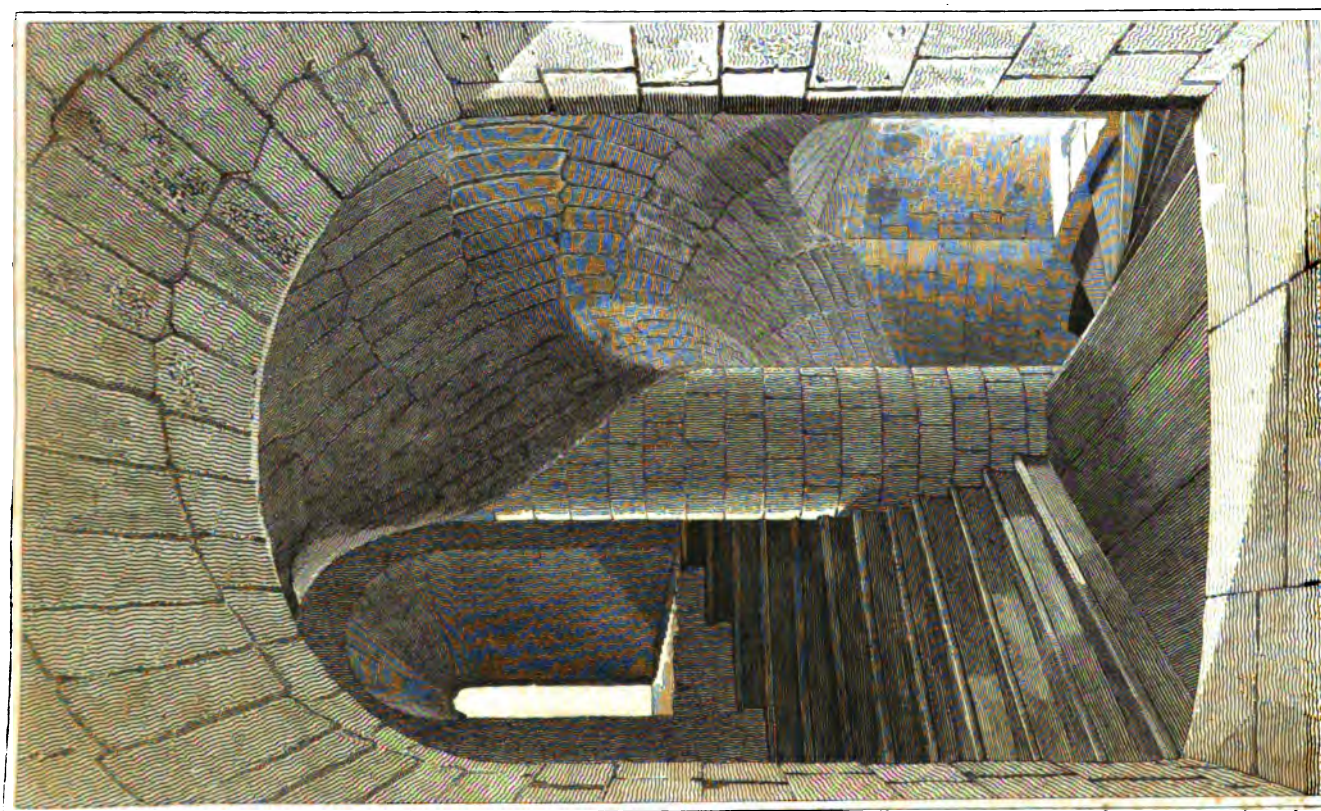
PLAN OF THE WHITE HOUSE, AS IT WAS IN 1800.



Engraved by W. Cooke Junr.

VAULTED ROOM AND STAIR CASE IN THE WHITE TOWER.

London: Published March 6, 1822, by T. Cadell in the Strand.



Drawn by E. P. R.

Printed by A. C. Wood.

these have been greatly widened,^a though they still retain in their vaulting, indications of the same curious mode of construction as that above referred to. The eastern termination of this apartment is coved, and the opposite end finished with a deeply recessed arch, agreeing in character with all the other parts of the building. On the north side is a small semicircular headed door-way, communicating with a cell ten feet long by eight wide, formed in the thickness of the wall, and receiving no light whatever, excepting by means of the entrance. There can be but little doubt that these gloomy apartments were originally designed as prisons, and even, in later times, they have evidently been used for that purpose: indeed, tradition states, that it was the place of confinement of sir Walter Raleigh, and that it was here that he wrote his History of the World, and some of his political pieces. By the sides of the door-way leading to the cell, are remains of several inscriptions left on the walls by prisoners; but they have been so mutilated, that the only ones that could be made out were, HE THAT INDVRETH TO THE ENDE SHALL BE SAVID. M. 10. R. RVDSTON. DAR. KENT. AN^o 1553.—BE FEITHFVL VNTO THE DETH AND I WIL GIVE THE A CROWNE OF LIFE. T. FANE. 1554. and underneath this last are the words T. CVLPEPER OF DARFORD.^b

The other apartments on this first floor, and the corresponding two rooms in next story, have been so disguised by the wainscoting and other alterations which have been made in converting them into armories, that it would be useless to attempt a description of them. It is pretty clear, however, that they corresponded very nearly with the uppermost apartments, excepting that the exterior walls are solid; and therefore the description which it will be hereafter necessary to give of the latter, will be equally applicable to these.

In the spiral stair communicating between these floors, the same

^a This was done about twenty years ago, when the room was fitted up as a repository for cavalry arms; the use to which it is at present appropriated.

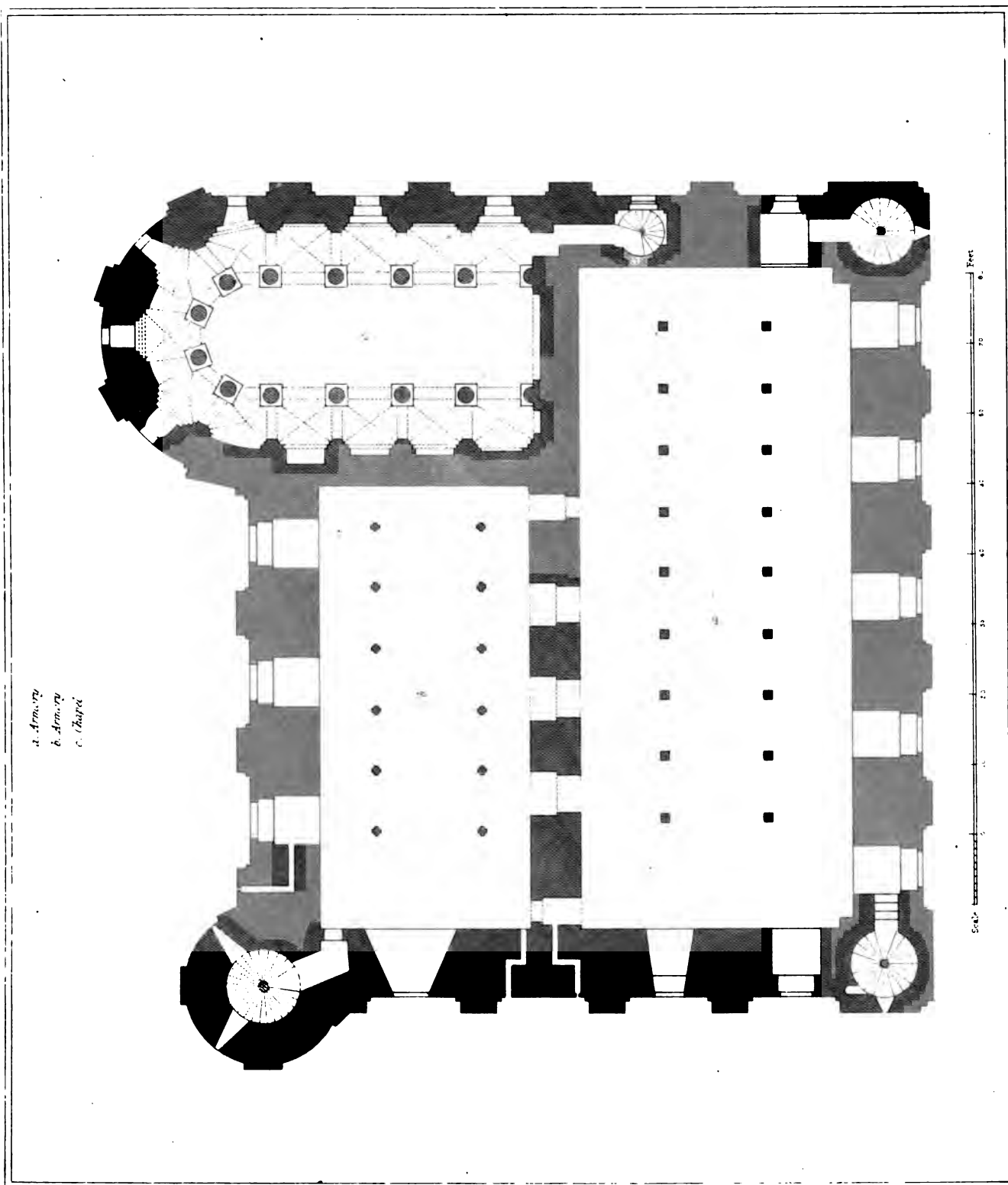
^b Robert Rudston, who states himself to be of Dartford, in Kent; Thomas Fane, or Vane, and Thomas Culpeper, were all concerned in the rebellion of sir Thomas Wyatt, in 1553-4, and were committed with him to the Tower about the middle of February in that year. Wyatt, after being reprieved, with the hope of gaining from him secrets respecting the conspiracy, particularly such as might implicate the princess, afterwards queen, Elizabeth; was beheaded; drawn, and quartered on Tower Hill, on the eleventh of April following. Robert Rudston was also tried and condemned, but afterwards received pardon; a lenity, which was probably extended to Fane and Culpeper, as we find no account of their execution.

peculiar mode of construction is observable,^a though rendered still more curious by the intricate nature of the vaulting to which it has been applied. The newell, or circular column, round which the stairs wind,^b exhibits also a very interesting specimen of original masonry, disposed in courses of about seven or eight inches deep, and divided by thick layers of coarse cement. To this part of the building light is admitted by narrow embrasures or loops, most of which retain every appearance of originality, and have their semicircular heads impressed with the same character as that already spoken of.

On the second story, and directly over the vaulted chamber above described, is a sacred apartment, commonly dignified with the name of Cæsar's Chapel. It has a semicircular termination towards the east, and consists of a centre or nave, and two side aisles; the former occupying exactly the area of the vaulted apartment already noticed, and the latter formed in the thickness of the wall. The centre and aisles are separated by twelve circular columns placed parallel with the exterior wall, four on each side at equal distances apart, and four arranged in a semicircular order, and placed much nearer one another at the eastern end; and these, with two half columns projecting from the wall at the west end, give support to an open arcade of plain semicircular arches, extending round the interior, and opening into the side aisles. The capitals with which the columns are finished, and on which the arches rest, display a studied variety in their ornaments, and are terminated with a square abacus variously moulded. The bases are circular, with different mouldings, and rest on square plinths. The arches which rise from the columns at the east end, in consequence of their being nearer each other, are carried up straight from the imposts and finished with a circular head, making the elevation of the arcade correspond all round. Immediately above this arcade is a plain chamfered strong course, on which are raised a series of low plain rectangular piers, without any base or impost moulding, and supporting another arcade of plain arches, corresponding with that below, and opening to a gallery which occupies the space immediately over the side aisles. It has already been stated

^a See Plate V.

^b The stairs in this and every other part of the building were formerly of stone; but owing to their having fallen into decay, they are now cased with boards.



PLAN OF MIDDLE TEMPLE, 1670. THE CHURCH AND CHAPEL ARE SHOWN IN WHITE.



Drawn by E. Hore.

Engraved by William R. Smith

CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY, LONDON.

Printed by M. J. Smith & Co.

London: Published May 1841, by T. Agnew & Sons, in the Strand.

that the aisles are taken out of the thickness of the wall, and they have twelve square pilasters projecting from it, corresponding with the number of columns; each pilaster being terminated with a chamfered moulding, and connected with its corresponding column by a plain arch, rising perpendicularly from its impost, and terminating with a semicircular head. A plain arcade, of deeply recessed arches, extends along the wall round the interior, between the pilasters, in which are inserted, on the south side, and round the east end, a corresponding number of semicircular headed windows;* and light is also admitted to the gallery by a similar number above; but these, though corresponding in character, are of much smaller dimensions.

The whole interior of this chapel is now covered with a thick coat of plaster; but on breaking this away, for the purpose of ascertaining the mode of construction of so interesting a part of the building, it was discovered that the columns, the arches which divide the centre from the side aisles, and the pilasters, together with the piers and arches opening into the gallery, are all faced with well-finished stones, retaining the marks of the tool, and laid in courses with thick joints of coarse mortar. In the elevation of seven of the central columns, there are nine of these courses; in three others, an additional half course under each capital: the remaining two have ten courses; and the two half columns at the west end are distinguished by being constructed of stones of a much larger dimension. The intervals between the finished masonry are filled up with rubble-work of various sized stones, plastered over.

This chapel, with its gallery, occupies the entire space from the second floor to the roof, and the vaulting of its centre is semicircular, and coved at the east end: that of the gallery, semicircular; and that of the aisles, composed of two intersecting semicircles, with the groining or hips formed by hand. They are all constructed upon the same principle, and with materials similar to those used in the apartment below; but the impress of the frame-work or centering was either carefully avoided in the erection, or was afterwards chiselled or rubbed down. The floor, which is now boarded, was for-

* Those on the south side, being four in number, have their exterior openings, the two largest in the intervals between the buttresses, and the other two in the centre of the buttresses.

merly of a thick greyish coloured cement, of a very hard substance, and polished surface; and, from some remains of it which have been discovered, it appears to have been divided by lines into regular figures, to resemble stone. The floor of the gallery is also at present boarded; but was formerly of square tiles, and it was not till within these few years that these have been entirely removed.

This chapel, which may justly be said to exhibit one of the finest and most perfect specimens of the Norman style of architecture now extant in this country, was dedicated to Saint John the Evangelist, and it is probable that it was anciently used for the private devotions of the royal family and household, when the court was kept at the Tower.

In the year 1240, that great patron of the arts, king Henry the Third, gave particular directions for repairing and ornamenting this chapel, and among other things that were ordered to be made, were three glass windows: one towards the north, "with a little Mary holding her child;" and two others towards the south, representing the Holy Trinity, and Saint John the apostle and evangelist. The cross and rood were also to be painted well and with good colours; and there were likewise to be made and painted, where it could best and most properly be done in the said chapel, two fair images; one of them of Saint Edward, holding a ring, and presenting it to Saint John the Evangelist.^a

In the reign of the monarch above-mentioned, here was a chaplain regularly performing divine service, and receiving a yearly stipend of fifty shillings at the exchequer for his maintenance,^b a vesture, chalice, and other things necessary for the performance of his holy offices, being also provided him;^c and, in 1261, on the decease of his sister-in-law, Senchia, countess of Cornwall and queen of the Romans; king Henry granted to the master and brethren of the neighbouring hospital of Saint Catherine, the sum of fifty shillings, to be taken every year at the exchequer, for the support of a chaplain who should pray here daily for her soul.^d

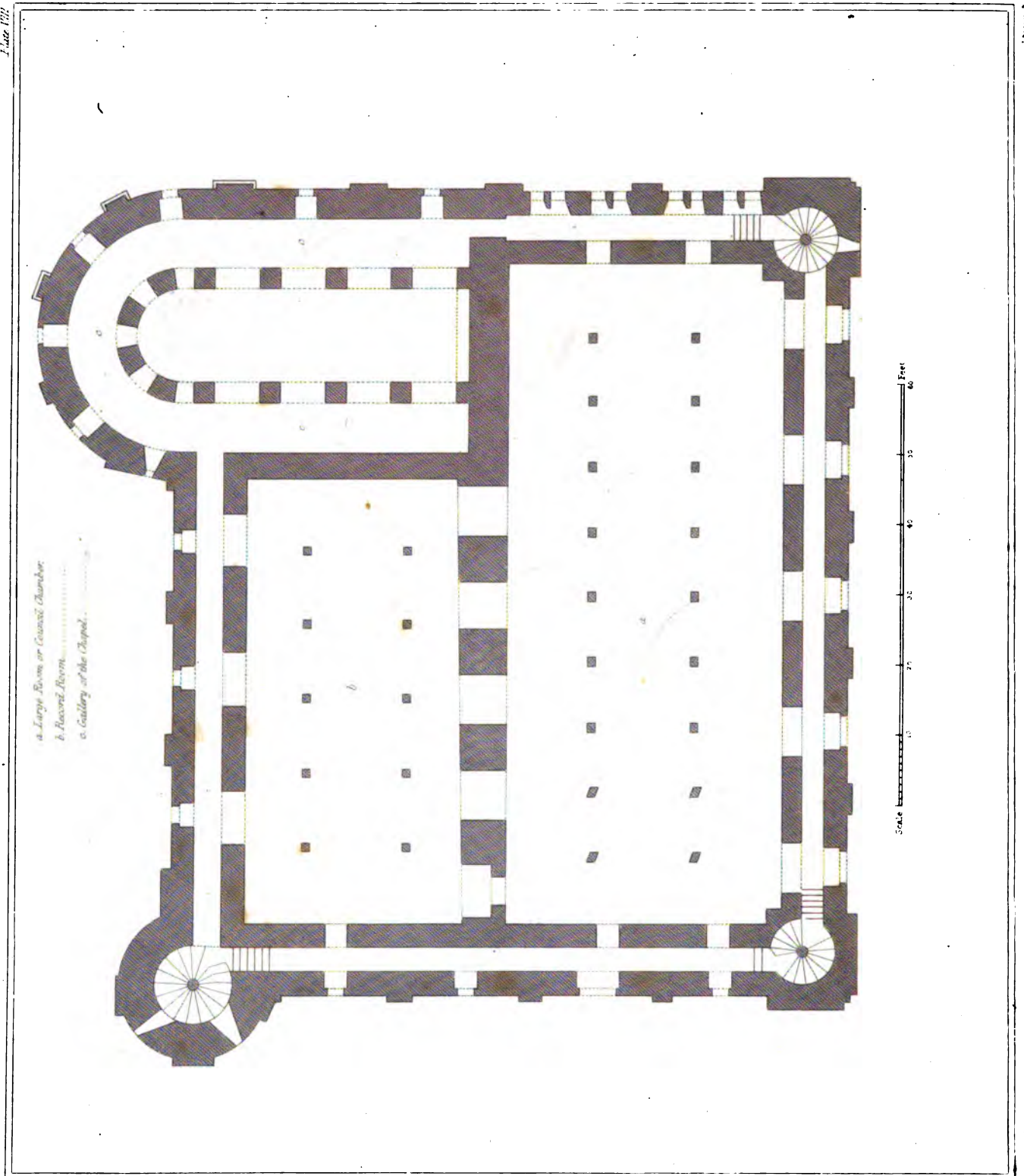
How long this chapel continued in use for the performance of divine service is unknown, and it is equally uncertain at what pe-

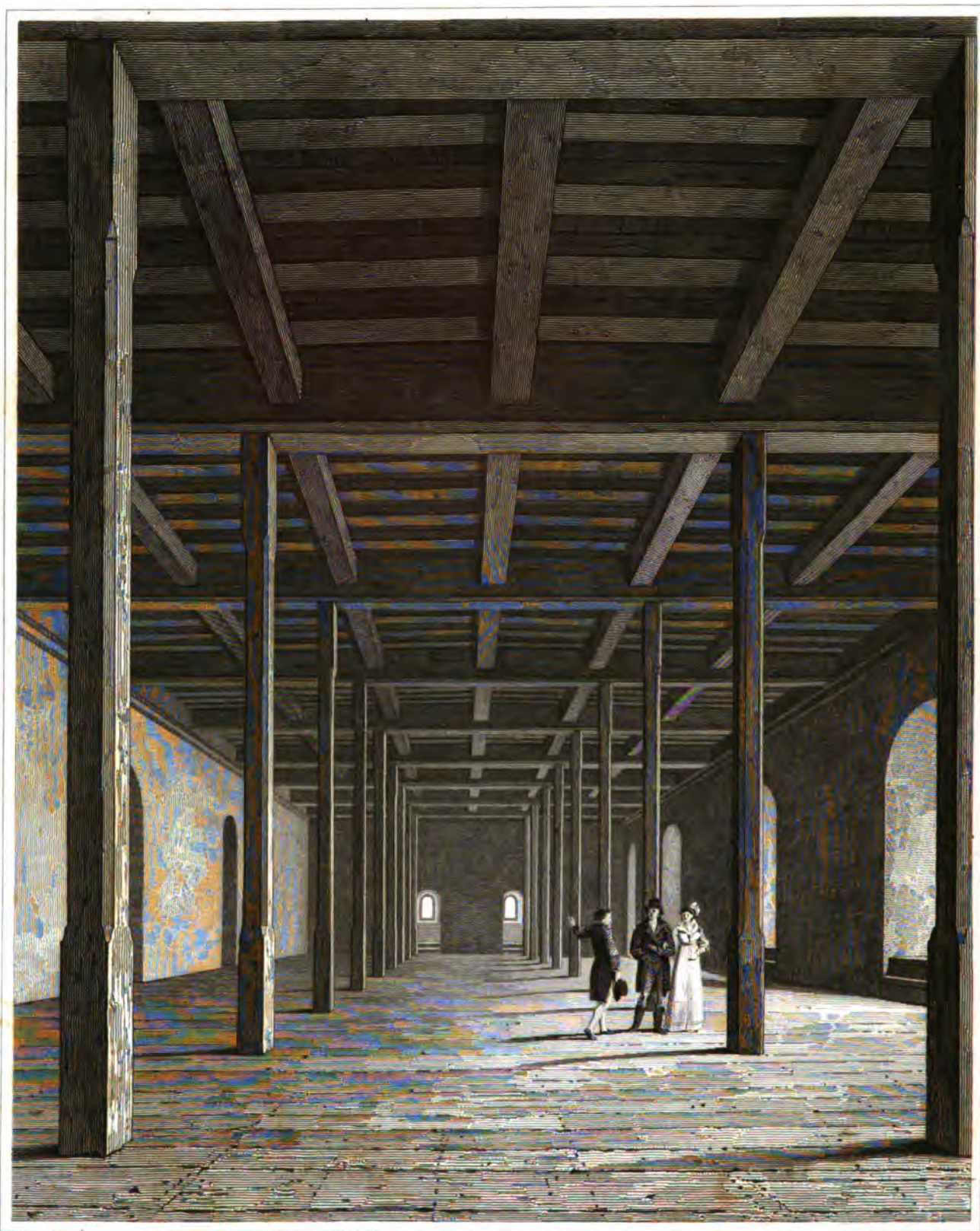
^a See page 107, note.

^c Rot. Claus. 28 Hen. III. m. 13.

^b Rot. Liberat. 25 Hen. III. m. 11.

^d Rot. Pat. 46 Hen. III. m. 18. N^o 28.





Drawn by F. Nash.

Engraved by J. Lee.

THE GREAT HALL, BISHOPSCOTE, AND THE GREAT HALL, BISHOPSCOTE.

Printed by M. G. Smith.

London: Published March 6, 1831 by T. Cadell, in the Strand.

riod it was stripped of its sacred ornaments and furniture. It now forms part of the rooms belonging to the Record Office, and contains, chiefly, proceedings in the court of Chancery during the reigns of king James the First and Charles the First. We are uninformed as to the period of its appropriation to this use; it is certain, however, that records were repositied here as early as the time of king Charles the Second.

The uppermost story of the White Tower corresponds exactly, in point of division, with each of the others; but the rooms are much loftier, and the originality of their appearance excites a greater degree of interest. The largest apartment, which is represented in the annexed plate,^a has, perhaps, but few rivals: the massive timber roof and supporters have every appearance of high antiquity, and harmonize exceedingly well with the grand and substantial features of the other parts of the building. The partition wall, between the two principal rooms, is pierced nearly from the floor to the ceiling, by five lofty openings, with semicircular heads springing from their respective abutments, without impost mouldings, and perfectly plain and unadorned: four of these are open; but the fifth, at the northern extremity, is closed up with a thin partition, in which is inserted a smaller opening equally plain, and assimilating in character to the arch over it. Round this floor, formed in the substance of the wall, and communicating with the three grand corner stairs,^b are small galleries,^c arched over with a semicircular vault; and opposite the windows, which open into them, are large semicircular headed openings for the admission of light to the apartments. The

^a To this apartment, tradition has given the name of the Council Chamber, from its having been the room in which, as is supposed, the council used to assemble when the reigning monarch held his court at the Tower, and it is said to have been here that the council was sitting in 1483, when Richard, duke of Gloucester, the protector, ordered the execution of lord Hastings, and the arrest of the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and lord Stanley.—See page 54.

^b It has already been observed, that the stair at the north-east angle, forms a communication with each of the floors from the vaults upwards; but this is not the case with those at the north-west and south-west corners, though they correspond with it in all the leading features of construction: these begin only on the second floor, and communicate thence with the uppermost story, and terminate in small apartments in their respective turrets.

^c It has been conjectured that these galleries were originally designed for the convenience of the garrison in case of a close siege, that orders might be more speedily conveyed to different parts of the building.—Vide *Archaeologia*, vol. iv. p. 379.

whole of the roof is covered with lead, and the four angular turrets, which rise above it, are terminated with leaden cupolas, each supporting a weathercock and crown.

The whole of the upper floor is now annexed to the Record Office. The largest room was added to that establishment at the instance of the late keeper of the records in the year 1811, and has since been fitted up for the arrangement of proceedings in the court of chancery and other documents, and additional light has been introduced into the two largest apartments by means of skylights.

Throughout the whole of this majestic edifice, not the slightest appearance remains of there having been any fireplace or well; nor does there exist any vestige of arras or tapestry, with which, we may presume, that the state apartments at least were formerly decorated.

We are informed that the White Tower "was, by tempest of winde, sore shaken in the yeare 1092," and that it was repaired by king William Rufus and his successor: "it is clear, however, that the industrious antiquary who affords us this information, and who has been copied by subsequent writers, has, on this occasion, mistaken his authorities: a storm indeed did happen in that year,^b and such was its extraordinary violence, that in London alone six hundred houses are said to have been overturned; besides the great injury done to churches and other public buildings; but no mention whatever is made of the Tower; nor is it likely that any thing less than an earthquake could have affected a pile of this solid construction.

Considerable repairs were done to this building about the middle of the thirteenth century; probably the first of any importance that had been necessary since its foundation.

In the early part of the reign of king Edward III. a commission was directed to John de Molyns and two others, 'to survey the defects of the Tower and other places within its boundary,' and to inquire by jury what would be necessary for their repair.^c A return was thereupon made to the archbishop of Canterbury, the then chancellor; and in the year following the sheriffs of London were

^a Stow's Annals, and Survey of London.

^b Will. Malmsbur. in Script. post Bedam, p. 125.—Rog. Hoveden. Ibid. p. 462.

^c This commission was dated at Berwick upon Tweed, the sixteenth of October, 1336.—See Appendix.

PLATE I



Engraved by J. Byrne.

Drawn by F. Nash.

View of the West Wall of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, London.

Printed by M. G. S. & Co.

ordered to pay forty pounds out of the farm of the city "to be spent about the great tower of the Tower of London, which is in great need of repair;"^a and the sheriff of Kent was likewise commanded to bring all the oak timber from Havering, to be used in the houses and other buildings of the fortress upon the same occasion.^b

Much was done to the White Tower, in common with the rest of the fortress, in the year 1532:^c and stone for that purpose was brought from the famous quarries of Caen in Normandy. Soon after the restoration of king Charles the Second it underwent another repair,^d and in the reigns of James the Second and William and Mary, great alterations were made in the windows and other parts of the building, and some of the rooms converted into armories.

Against the eastern side of the White Tower there is a low stone building which forms a wing to the main structure; erected, perhaps, about the reign of king Edward the Third. It consisted formerly of one story only, but has, within the last twenty years, been raised, and is now used as a repository for old books and papers belonging to the office of Ordnance. On the west side there is also another low and still more modern erection, occupied as a guard room.^e

It will be seen by the accompanying general plan of the Tower, that at the south-east and south-west corners of this building there anciently stood two smaller towers, called the Wardrobe Tower, and Cold Harbour Gate: the latter formed the entrance to an enclosure containing the domestic apartments of the palace, which occupied the entire south-east angle of the inner ward; as will be more fully noticed hereafter.

CHAPEL OF ST. PETER AD VINCULA.

Besides the private chapel of Saint John the Evangelist in the White Tower, there is another ecclesiastical structure within the

^a Rot. Claus. 10 Edw. III. m. 20. in Turr. Lond.

^b Ibid. m. 15. et m. 8.

^c Stow's Survey of London.—See also the survey of the fortress made on that occasion in the Appendix.

^d Stow's Survey of London by Strype.

^e It is to be regretted that the effect of a building so truly grand as the White Tower, should be destroyed by this contemptible brick erection. Nothing could be more desirable than that it should be taken down, and another wing, corresponding with that on the east side, built in its stead.

fortress, standing at the north-west corner of the inner ward, dedicated to Saint Peter ad Vincula, and, in early times, appropriated to the public devotions of the royal family and household, and to the general use of the garrison.

The present building was erected in the reign of king Edward the First;^a but there was a church or chapel in the Tower dedicated to the same saint long before that period. The original, perhaps, owed its foundation to that wise and accomplished monarch, Henry the First, who appears to have made considerable additions to the buildings within the wall, with which the Tower had then recently been surrounded by his brother king William Rufus. Whether the original edifice occupied the exact site of the present is uncertain; but it appears to have been grand and spacious. It contained two chancels, one dedicated to the blessed Mary, the other to Saint Peter; and there were stalls in it for the king and queen.

When king Henry III. in the year 1240, gave directions for the chapel of Saint John in the White Tower to be repaired and ornamented, he also issued very minute instructions respecting this church of Saint Peter. Among other things it was commanded that the royal stalls should be painted, and that "the little Mary with her shrine, and the figures of St. Peter, St. Nicholas, and St. Katherine, should be newly coloured;" an image of the blessed Virgin was also to be made beyond the altar of Saint Peter, on the north side, and another of the same saint, in a solemn archiepiscopal vesture, on the south: these were to be painted with the best colours, and there was also "to be made and painted in the said church, where it could better and more decently be done, an image of Saint Christopher, holding and carrying Jhesus:" two fair tables, of the best colours, and containing the legends of Saint Nicholas and Saint Katherine, were likewise to be painted before the two altars; and "two fair cherubims, with cheerful and pleasant countenances," were to be placed on the right hand and on the left of the great cross; a marble font, with marble columns, well and decently carved, was also to be provided.^b

^a Rot. Claus. 34 Edw. I. m. 8. in Turr. Lond.

^b Rex custodibus operationis Turris Lond', salutem. Præcipimus vobis quod cancellum beatæ Mariæ in ecclesiâ sancti Petri infra ballium Turris nostræ London', et cancellum beati Petri in eadem ecclesiâ, et ab introitu cancelli beati Petri usque ad spacium iij pedum ultra stallos, ad



Drawn by F. Nash

Engraved by W. Smith

Some years after king Henry had thus repaired and ornamented the old church, he ordered that two small bells should be placed in it;^a and on the decease of that monarch, in 1272, a chaplain was appointed to pray there for his soul, receiving at the Exchequer a stipend of fifty shillings per annum.^b

The present church or chapel of Saint Peter was erected, as before mentioned, in the reign of king Edward the First, but appears to have undergone considerable alterations since that period.^c It is a plain stone building, consisting of a nave and one side aisle, separated by a row of handsome stone columns with polygonal capitals, surmounted by low pointed arches.

The chapel of St. Peter is entirely void of ornament, but derives peculiar interest from being the burial-place of so many personages, distinguished by rank, by fortune, and by fate. Here rests the hal-
lowed urn of martyred innocence: and here, the headless trunks of victims to ambition and the thirst for power, moulder into dust.

Within this chapel, in 1534, was buried the ill-fated Gerald Fitz-Gerald, ninth earl of Kildare, and lord deputy of Ireland. On suspicion of treasonable practices against the government, he was commanded to appear before the king, and, being committed to prison in the Tower, soon after died of a broken heart; happily before the execution of his son and five brothers, who fell into open rebellion, and ended their lives as traitors. In 1580, the plate of his coffin was

*opus nostrum et reginæ nostræ in eadem ecclesiâ factos, benè et decenter lambruscari faciatis, et eosdem stallos depingi; et Mariolam cum suo tabernaculo et ymages beatorum Petri, Nicholai, et Katherinæ, et trabem ultra altare beati Petri et parvum patibulum cum suis ymaginibus de novo colorari et bonis coloribus refriscari; et fieri faciatis quandam ymaginem de beatâ virgine ultra altare beati Petri, versus austrum, et alteram ymaginem de beato Petro in solempni aparatu archiepiscopali in parte boreali ultra dictum altare, et de optimis coloribus depingi; et quandam ymaginem de sancto Christophero tenentem et portantem Jhesum, ubi melius et decentius fieri potest et depingi in eadem ecclesiâ: et fieri faciatis duas tabulas pulchras, et de optimis coloribus et de hystoriis beatorum Nicholai et Katherinæ depingi ante altaria dictorum sanctorum in eadem ecclesiâ: et duos scherumbinos, stantes à dextris et à sinistris magni patibuli, pulcros fieri faciatis in prædictâ ecclesiâ, cum hyllari vultu et jocoso; et præterea unum fontem marmoreum cum columpnis marmoreis bene et decenter inscisis. Et custum quod ad hoc posueritis per visum et testimonium legalium hominum computabitur vobis ad scaccarium. T. R. apud Windles'. x^o. die Decembr'.—*Rot. Liberat.* 25 Hen. III. m. 20. in *Turr. Lond.**

^a Rot. Claus. 35 Hen. III. m. 16. in *Turr. Lond.*

^b Rot. Liberat. 1 Edw. I. m. 1. *ibid.*

^c These alterations were probably made in the reign of king Henry VIII. when we have intimation of its having been materially injured by fire.

discovered on opening a vault: it notified only his name and the day of his death, December the 12th, 1534, with the pious addition of "on whose sole Jesu have mercye."

Here also, in the succeeding year, was laid that good and conscientious prelate, John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, together with his fellow-sufferer, the great, the witty sir Thomas More; both beheaded for denying the king's supremacy: the former on the twenty-second of June, and the latter on the sixth of the following month. Fisher was first buried in Barking church-yard, but soon afterwards removed, to be near his bigotted friend Sir Thomas, whose body was, at a subsequent period, obtained by his amiable and accomplished daughter, Margaret Roper, and re-interred in Chelsea church,^a where a handsome monument was erected to his memory.

In front of the altar, repose the beauteous Anna Boleyn, and the guilty Catherine Howard, two ill-fated wives of king Henry VIII.: the former suffered in 1536, under a charge of adultery not clearly proved; and the latter, upon full conviction of the same crime, in 1541. Here also sleeps the headless body of George lord Rochford, the innocent brother of the former. Involved in her accusation, he preceded, by two days, his unfortunate sister to the grave, as his infamous wife, a principal instrument in their death, accompanied, unpitied, her mistress, Catherine Howard, in execution and in sepulture.^b

Here likewise rests, amid the attainted group, the mangled corse of the venerable and innocent Margaret, countess of Salisbury, the last of entire blood of the royal line of Plantagenet.

Cromwell too, that mighty pillar of the state, whom Wolsey raised from the forge,^c and placed in the road to honor and to greatness; whom Henry made his instrument in the suppression of papal supremacy, and in the dissolution of religious houses; whom he loaded with the highest offices and honors; and whom he finally cast down, and bereft of life and dignity—lies buried here.

^a Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 506. Fuller's Church History, Lib. V. p. 206. Newcourt's Repertorium. Lysons's Environs of London.

^b See page 73.

^c Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, was the son of a blacksmith, residing at Putney, in Surrey, as will be noticed in the second part of this work, where a more ample account will be found of him, and the rest of these distinguished characters.

Within these walls were also deposited the remains of Thomas Seymour, the turbulent baron Sudley, lord high admiral of England, who was, of necessity, beheaded in 1549, under a warrant from his own brother, Edward duke of Somerset, the protector; by whom, within three years, he was followed to the scaffold and the grave! This good and lamented duke was buried in front of the altar between the unfortunate queens above-mentioned; and about eighteen months afterwards, John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, his ambitious rival, the procurer of his death, was laid headless by his side!

Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, beheaded for aspiring to the bed of Mary queen of Scots; his virtuous son Philip, earl of Arundel, who languished and died within the dreary walls of a prison;^a and Robert Devereux, the favourite earl of Essex, 'whom his fond mistress reluctantly gave to the block after a long struggle between fear and affection,' were likewise buried here.

Under the communion table was interred James duke of Monmouth, the handsome, profligate, and ungrateful son of king Charles the Second. "His ambition, like that of many whom he followed to this place," occasioned his untimely end. He died calmly, acknowledging the guilt of rebellion, but love preserved her influence to the last. He was married at too early an age to Anne, daughter and heiress of Francis earl of Buccleugh, at that time esteemed the finest woman in the three kingdoms; but subsequently, fixing his affections on lady Harriet Wentworth, he lived with her as his wife; nor could all the arguments of the best divines convince him of its sin;^b "he called her, the choice of his ripened years."^c

But to draw nearer to our own times, and end this melancholy catalogue.—Under the gallery, at the western end of the chapel, were deposited the headless bodies of the penitent earl of Kilmarnock, the undaunted Balmerino, and the infamous Simon lord Lovat, leaders in the memorable rebellion of 1745. As they were associates in crime, they are companions in sepulchre; being all

^a See the Account of the Beauchamp-Tower.

^b Life and Reign of king James II. in Kennet, vol. iii. p. 431.

^c Pennant's Account of London.

buried in the same grave. Some years ago, on opening the adjoining ground, the leaden plates were discovered, which had been fixed on their coffins: they are still preserved in the chapel, and bear the following inscriptions:

<i>Willielmus</i>	<i>Arthurus</i>
<i>Comes de Kilmarnock</i>	<i>Dominus de Balmerino</i>
<i>Decollatus 18^o die Augusti 1746.</i>	<i>Decollatus 18^o die Augusti 1746.</i>
<i>Ætatis suæ 42^o</i>	<i>Ætatis suæ 58^o</i>
<i>Simon Dominus</i>	
<i>Frazer de Lovat</i>	
<i>Decollat. Apr^o. 9. 1747.</i>	
<i>Ætat. suæ 80.</i>	

A flat stone, in which are cut three circular marks with a line drawn through them, denote the spot of their interment.

In the north-west corner of the aisle, under a gallery erected for the military of the garrison, is an altar tomb richly carved; upon which are recumbent figures of sir Richard Cholmondeley, knight, and lady Elizabeth his wife. Sir Richard, who was lieutenant of the Tower in the early part of the reign of king Henry the Eighth, is represented in plate armour, his head resting on an helmet and his feet supported by a lion; his hair lank, and chin beardless; his hands closed as in prayer, and round his neck a collar of SS. with a rose pendent: his lady, in a pointed head-dress, is on the left, with her head resting on a cushion. The tomb is ornamented with lozenges inclosing blank shields, and its base adorned with foliage. It formerly stood in the middle of the church, but for convenience has been removed to its present position, which prevents part of the inscription being seen: the following words only, are visible.—
Jacent corpora Ricardi Cholmondeley militis et dñe Elizabethe consortis sue, qui quorum animabus Deus propitiatur. Amen.

This Sir Richard Cholmondeley, who was of the ancient and very respectable family of that name, residing at Chorley in Cheshire,* was a distinguished military officer, and had a command under the

* Lysons's *Britannia*, vol. ii. p. 477.

earl of Surry, at Flodden Field, in 1513.^a He afterwards received the honor of knighthood, and was made lieutenant of the Tower. Sir Roger Cholmondeley, chief justice of England, was a natural son of this sir Richard. Having no legitimate issue, sir Richard Cholmondeley left his estates to his brother Roger, ancestor of sir Hugh Cholmondeley, the gallant defender of Scarborough Castle, who was created a baronet in 1641.^b Sir Richard was lieutenant of the Tower in the year 1518, when the Londoners rose against the Lombards and other merchant strangers; and, probably with a view of intimidating the rioters, discharged some artillery of the fortress against the city, but did no great injury.^c

On the north side of the chancel a large and splendid monument is erected to the memory of sir Richard Blount, knight, and sir Michael his son, both lieutenants of the Tower. Sir Richard, who died in 1560, is represented on one side, in armour, with his two sons kneeling, and opposite his wife and two daughters, who are shewn in the dress of the times, on the other. The gilding, with which all the figures appear to have been richly ornamented, is much worn off. A tablet bears the following inscription:

HIC JACET RICHARDVS BLOVNTVS MILES AVRATVS
QVI HENRICO OCTAVO E QVATVOR ATRIENSIBUS VNVS
EDOVARDO SEXTO A PRIVATO CVBICVLO FVIT: ET IN
VARIA HVIVS IMPERII OFFICIA AB ELIZABETHA REGINA
SELECTVS, TURRI LONDINENSI AB EADEM PRÆFECTVS,
EX HAC DIGNITATE IN COELOS A DEO SVSCEPTVS
EST. IS VXOREM DVXIT FILIAM RICHARDI LISTERI
MILITIS ITIDEM AVRATI PRIMARII TOTIVS ANGLIÆ
IVDICIS, ET EX EA FILIOS HABVIT, MICHÆLEM BLOVN-
TVM QVI MOORAM SIBI IN MATRIMONIVM SVMPST:
ET RICHARDVM BLOVNTVM QVEM SOLVM SINE
CONIVGE CELIBEM RELIQVIT: FILIAS ELIZABETHAM
ET BARBARAM HABVIT, QVARVM ALTERAM NICHOLAIO
SEINTIHONE, ALTERAM FRANCISCO SHERLEIO IN
CONIVGIUM DEDIT. EX HAC VITA VIR ILLE BONVS
DISCESSIT, ANNOS NATVS QVINQVAGINTA NONOS,
VNDESSIMO DIE AVGVSTI ANNO DOMINI. 1564. ET IN

^a Hall's Chronicle, and Hollinshed.

^b Lysons's Britannia, vol. ii. p. 478.

^c Hall's Chronicle. Stow's Annals, p. 848.

HOC TVMVLO EX SVMP TV ELIZABETHÆ VXORIS SVÆ
 SEPVLTVS ACQVIESCIT. TVVM EST O DEVS OMNIVM
 CADAVERA AD EXTREMVM VIVIFICARE ET VNA TECVM
 GLORIFICARE PER SANCTVM CRISTVM TVVM. AMEN.

Sir Michael is represented in armour, attended by his three sons, his wife, and daughter, all in the attitude of prayer. On the tablet is this inscription :

HEERE LYETH BVRIED SR MICHAEL
 BLOVNT KNIGHT SONNE & HEAYRE OF
 SR RICHARD BLOVNT KNIGHT, WHOE
 SVCCEDED HIS FATHER IN YE OFFICE
 OF LIEVTENANTCY OF YE TOWER OF
 LONDON XXV. YEARES AFTER YE DEATH
 OF HIS SAYD FATHER, AND LEFT ISSVE BY
 MARY HIS WIFE, SISTER AND ONE OF YE
 COHEAYRES OF THOMAS MOORE OF BISSITER,
 RICHARD, THOMAS, & CHARLES, CATHERINE
 & FRAVNCS. RICHARD MARYED CECILY
 YOVNGEST DAUGHTER OF SR RICHARD
 BAKER OF KENT KNIGHT. CATHERINE
 HIS ELDEST DAUGHTER MARIED TO JOHN
 BLOVNT ALIAS CROKE OF STYDLEY IN
 YE COVNTIE OF OXON ESQUIER SONNE &
 HEAYRE APPARANT TO JOHN BLOVNT
 ALIAS CROKE OF CHILTON IN YE COVNTIE
 OF BVCKINGHAM ESQUIER & HATH
 ISSVE JOHN, HENRY & CHARLES: AND
 DAME MARI YE WIFFE OF YE SAYD
 SR MICHAELL DIED ON SATER-
 DAYE BEING YE 23RD DAYE OF
 DECEMBER IN A^O D^OI 1592.
 AND SHE LYETH HERE BVRIED.

Below the monument of Sir Richard Blount is a tablet to the memory of Lyster Blount an infant. The inscription informs us that he was lineally descended from three lieutenants of the Tower, and that "here they all lye to expect the cominge of our sweet Saviour Jesu."

Against the wall, on the south side of the chancel, a plain tablet preserves the memory of sir Allan Apsley, knight, who died the

24th of May, 1630. He was victualler of the royal navy twenty-one years, and fourteen years lieutenant of the Tower. Sir Allan first married Ann, daughter and heiress of sir Peter Carew, knight; by whom he had issue Peter, son and heir; Joyce, married to Lyster, second son of sir Richard Blount, of Maple Durham, knight; and Carew, who died an infant. By his second wife, Lucy, daughter of sir John St. John of Lidyard, knight, he had ten children, six of whom died young. In the floor, fronting the communion table, a mutilated brass plate marks the spot of his interment.

Near to the last mentioned tablet is a singular mural monument, consisting of two busts, representing George Payler, Esq. "master surveyor of the Ordnance" in the reign of king Charles the First, and lady Maria Carey his wife: between them are three children in swaddling clothes, recumbent; and an inscription underneath informs us, "that neere unto this place sleepeth the bodies of Samuel and Maria Payler," their second son and eldest daughter.

At the upper end of the nave, against one of the columns, is an elegant tablet, with the following inscription to the memory of the celebrated sir Jonas More, knight, surveyor general of the Ordnance in the time of king Charles the Second.

M. S.

*JONÆ MORI EQUITIS AURATI IN AGRO LANCASTRIENSI
APUD VICUM WHITELEE NATI viij^o DIE FEBRUARII
ANNO A PARTU VIRGINIS M.D.C.XVII.
QUI, OB EGREGIAM ERGA PRINCIPEM SUUM FIDELITATEM,
SUMMAM IN REBUS MATHEMATICIS SCIENTIAM,
ET SINGULAREM IN NEGOTIIS PERAGENDIS
SOLERTIAM ET INDUSTRIAM
A REGE CAROLO SECUNDO AD OFFICIUM SUPERVISORIS GENERALIS
REI TORMENTARIÆ BELLICÆ EVOCATUS EST.
QUO MUNERE DUM DIGNE FUNGITUR,
INGENUAS ETIAM DISCIPLINAS, ARTESQUE MECANICAS,
NON MAGIS AD ANIMI SUI OBLECTAMENTUM,
QUAM PUBLICA PATRIÆ COMMODA,
STUDIOSISSIME EXCOLUIT.
ET INPRIMIS ASTRONOMIÆ ET NAUTICÆ ARTIS FAUTORUM
BENEFICENTISSIMUM SE PRÆBUIT;*

EASQUE PROMOVENDI CAUSA
 SPECULAM GRENOVICENSEM (JUBENTE REGE)
 EXSTRUI CURAVIT,
 INSTRUMENTIS IDONEIS LOCUPLETAVIT,
 EDITISQUE MATHEMATICIS OPERIB' UTILISSIMIS
 ORBI INCLARVIT.
 VIXIT ANNOS LXII. DEVIXIT XXVIJ. AUGUSTI A° CHRISTI
 M.D.C. LXXIX.
 FILIUM UNICUM DE UXORE CHARISSIMA SUSCEPTUM
 POST SE RELIQUIT,
 QUI EUNDEM QUEM PATER TENUERAT ET LOCUM UT HONORIS
 GRADUM ADEPTUS,
 PRÆPROPERA MORTE EXTINGTUS,
 HIC UNA SEPULTUS EST.
 MARIA FILIA, E DUABUS NATU MAJOR, EJUSQUE
 MARITUS GULIELMUS HANWAY GENUS
 PATRI OPTIMO, ET FRATRI MONUMENTUM HOC
 LL. MM. PP.

Passing over other less interesting monuments, we come, at the upper end of the nave, to a small and humble stone, in the floor, which informs us that *Here lieth y^e body of Talbot Edwards, gent., late keeper of His Ma^{ty} Regalia, who dyed y^e 30th of September, 1674, aged 80 yeares and 9 moneths.* This venerable man was keeper of the regalia when the ruffian *Blood* made the desperate attempt to steal the crown and other ornaments of majesty. Well has it been asked,* “was it not a shameless reign, in which no farther remembrance of this good and faithful servant was delivered to posterity?”

Near the middle of the aisle is buried George Holmes, esq., who died February the 19th, 1748. He was the first vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries, and, for about sixty years, belonged to the office of his Majesty's Records, of which he was a long time deputy-keeper. In the same vault is also interred Robert Lemon, esq. who was likewise, for near fifty years, a worthy and much respected officer in the same establishment. He died December the 19th, 1813, aged eighty-four years.

Besides the monuments above described, and others of less note,

* Pennant's Account of London.—See under the title *Regalia* for a further account of Talbot Edwards, and of Blood's attempt to carry away the crown.

in the floor there are several ancient slabs on which have formerly been brass plates, bearing curious effigies and other memorials, long since torn away and lost.

In the reigns of king Henry the Third and Edward the First, the chaplains, who performed divine service in this church or chapel of Saint Peter, received stipends of fifty shillings per annum at the exchequer for their support, which, at that period, was the general allowance to the king's chaplains at Windsor, Winchester, and other royal residences throughout the kingdom.^a

In lieu of this stipend, a yearly rent of sixty shillings, arising from premises in Candlewick Street, in London, was afterwards granted to support a chaplain denominated a rector, who celebrated mass here every day. This regulation continued till the year 1354, when king Edward the Third, "for the honor of the holy church, and that the sacraments and other divine services might be better administered to his officers and servants residing in the Tower," converted this chapel into a sort of collegiate church,^b establishing in it three chaplains, in addition to the said rector; and for their support, confirmed to them the above-named rent of sixty shillings; and moreover, granted a rent of thirty-one shillings and eight-pence, issuing yearly out of tenements on Tower Hill and in Petty Wales; another rent of five shillings near the hospital of Saint Catherine; a certain custom arising from stal-boats, wears, and other engines, on the river Thames, which he had been accustomed to receive by the hands of the constable of the Tower; and the sum of ten marks to be received in half-yearly portions at the exchequer; besides the sum of twenty shillings from the constable of the Tower; ten shillings from the clerk of the mint, and thirteen shillings and four pence from the master of the mint, which they voluntarily agreed to give every year, out of their respective fees, to the said rector and chaplains, and their successors; and also one penny per week, which each workman and teller of coins in the said mint, agreed in like manner to give out of their wages.^c

^a Rot. Liberat. and Claus. temp. Reg. Hen. III. et Ed. I., in Turr. Lond.

^b Tanner's Notitia Monastica, p. 321.

^c Rot. Pat. de anno 28 Ed. III. p. 1 m. 22.

This grant of king Edward III. to the church or chapel of Saint Peter, was confirmed^a by each of his successors down to king Edward the Fourth, who, in place of a rector and chaplains, instituted a dean and three canons, of whom one was to be sub-dean, another treasurer, and the third precentor; incorporating them under the title of the 'dean and canons of the royal free chapel of the king's household within the Tower of London.'

This grant, which invested them, among various other privileges, with the power of acquiring, notwithstanding the statute of mortmain, possessions to the value of one hundred pounds per annum, appears to have been rendered ineffectual by the king's death, before the full accomplishment of his intention.

The royal free chapel of Saint Peter ad Vincula was exempt from all episcopal authority, till king Edward the Sixth, by his letters patent, in the fourth year of his reign, subjected it to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of London; ^c which letters were afterwards confirmed by queen Mary.^d

In the reign of king James the First a dispute arose about the solemnization of marriages and christenings in this chapel, and a Mr. Hayes, the then curate, was put in confinement by the high commission for performing those ordinances; but sir William Waade, the lieutenant of the Tower, demanded and enforced his release: ^e the question was, nevertheless, still agitated, and about the year 1620, Mr. Hubbock the rector, and his son, the curate, were for the same cause, by the archbishop of Canterbury, branded with the sentence of excommunication; which was published on the following Sunday in Barking and Saint Catherine's churches: ^f the right, however, was soon afterwards fully established, and has since been enjoyed without interruption.

The advowson of this chapelry is in the crown, and the chaplain, or rector, receives an annual stipend of 115*l.* 5*s.* from the exchequer, King Edward the Fourth conferred the living on Richard

^a Rot. Pat. 16 Ric. II. p. 3. m. 15.—Ibid. 4 Hen. IV. p. 1. m. 7. et 6 Hen. IV. p. 1. m. 9.—Ibid. 8 Hen. V. m. 5.—Ibid. 18 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 15.—Ibid. 27 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 16.

^b Rot. Pat. 22 et 23 Ed. IV. p. 2. m. 7. in Turr. Lond.

^c Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. i. p. 530. et Rot. Pat. 4 Edw. VI. ^d Newcourt, p. 530.

^e MS. penes constab. Turris.

^f Ibid.

Martyn,^a clerk, one of his privy counsellors, and afterwards chancellor of Ireland^b and bishop of St. David's;^c it was subsequently enjoyed by Dr. Fitz Herbert;^d and Henry the Eighth gave it to John Dunmowe, afterwards bishop of Limerick, and the king's proctor at Rome.^e

The present chaplain is the Rev. William Coxe, A. M. F. R. and A. S. archdeacon of Wilts, and rector of Bemerton, author of the well-known travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, and many other works of distinction.

Behind the church or chapel of Saint Peter, there was, at an early period, a small cell or hermitage,^f of which we find frequent mention in records of the reign of king Henry III. It was inhabited by a recluse, who daily received a penny of the king's charity.^g In one place it is noticed as the reclusory, or hermitage of St. Peter;^h in another, as that of St. Eustace.ⁱ It was in the king's gift,^k and seems to have been bestowed on either sex.

THE LIEUTENANT'S HOUSE.

The lodgings of the lieutenant of the Tower, now occupied by the major, or resident governor, are situated in the south-west angle of the inner enclosure. It is a large inconvenient old building, chiefly of timber, erected about the latter end of the reign of king Henry the Eighth; but has since undergone various alterations and repairs. The only part of it worthy of notice, is a room on the

^a Rot. Pat. 15. Edw. IV. p. 3. m. 10.

^b Pat. 17 Ed. IV. p. 2. m. 18.

^c Ibid. 22 Ed. IV. p. 1. m. 14.

^d MS. penes constab. Turr.

^e Ibid.

^f Rot. Claus. 21 Hen. III. m. 14.—Ibid. 35 Hen. III. m. 5.—Ibid. 37 Hen. III. m. 2.—Ibid. 46 Hen. III. m. 15.

^g Rot. Liberat. 21 Hen. III. m. 11. et Rot. Claus. 40 Hen. III. m. 15.

^h Rot. Liberat. 21 Hen. III. m. 11. in Turr. Lond.

ⁱ Mandatum est Ricardo de Shireburn' et Rogero Scissori, quod habere faciant recluso Sancti Eustachii Turris Lond' unam robam sibi convenientem, de dono Regis. T. R. apud Gillingham xii. die Dec'. *Per Regem.*—Rot. Claus. 37 Hen. III. m. 21.

^k Rex dedit Idoneæ de Boclaund' reclusorium quod est juxta ecclesiam beati Petri infra ballium Turris Lond'. Et mandatum est constabulario ejusdem Turris quod eidem Idoneæ de prædicto reclusorio plenam seisinam habere faciat.—Rot. Claus. 37 Hen. III. m. 2.

second floor; in which are some rude paintings;^a a monument,^b intended to perpetuate the infamy of the conspirators concerned in the gunpowder plot, and a bust of king James the First.

The monument is situated in the wall on the right hand side of the room, about four feet from the floor, and is inclosed by a pair of folding doors. It is formed of different coloured marbles, inlaid with five oval plates, bearing inscriptions which are copied in the following pages. The middle compartment, which is the largest, gives an account of the conspiracy; another contains the names of the conspirators; and on a third, are those of the commissioners appointed to examine them.^c Above, ranged in a line on the cornice, are the arms of the commissioners, and at one end, those of Sir Edward Coke, knight, then attorney-general; at the other, the coat of Sir William Waade, knight, lieutenant of the Tower, and below, the same quartering;—Gules, a chevron between three boars' heads couped, argent;—Gules, three garbs, Or;—Or, two bars azure in chief three water bugetts, Gules.

JACOBVS MAGNVS MAGNÆ BRITANIÆ
 REX, PIETATE, IVSTITIA, PRVDENTIA, DOCTRINA, FORTITVDINE,
 CLEMENTIA, CETERISQ. VIRTVTIBVS REGIS CLARISS'; CHRISTIANÆ
 FIDEI, SALVTIS PVBLICÆ, PACIS VNIVERSALIS PROPVGNATOR, FAVOR,
 AVCTOR ACERRIMVS, AVGVSTISS', AVSPICATISS'.
 ANNA REGINA FREDERICI 2. DANORV REGIS INVICTISSI FILIA SERENISSA
 HENRICVS PRINCEPS, NATVRÆ ORNAMENTIS, DOCTRINÆ PRÆSIDIIS, GRATIÆ
 MVNERIBVS, INSTRVCTISS'; NOBIS & NATVS & A DEO DATVS.
 CAROLVS DVX EBORACENSIS DIVINA AD OMNEM VIRTVTIEM INDOLE.
 ELIZABETHA VTRIVSQ. SOROR GERMANA, VTROQUE PARENTE, DIGNISSIMA.
 HOS, VELVT PVPILLAM OCVLI TENELLAM
 PROVIDVS MVNI, PROCVL IMPIORVM
 IMPETV ALARVM TVARVM INTREPIDOS
 CONDE SVB VMBRA.

^a These are now covered over with wainscot.

^b Erected in 1608, by sir William Waade, lieutenant of the Tower, who also placed the bust there.—An engraving of the monument appears in the *Archaeologia*, vol. xii.

^c These were, Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury; Henry Howard, earl of Northampton; Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham; Thomas Howard, earl of Suffolk; Edward Somerset, earl of Worcester; Charles Blunt, earl of Devon; John Ereskin, earl of Marr; George Hume, earl of Dunbar; all knights of the Garter; and sir John Popham, knight, Lord Chief Justice.

ROBERTVS CECIL, COMES SARISBURIENSIS SŪMVS & REGIS
SECRETARIVS & ANGLIÆ THESAURARIVS, CLARISS' PATRIS
& DE REPVB. MERITISSIMI FILIVS, IN PATERNA MVNERA
SVCCESSOR LONGE DIGNISSIMVS;
HENRICVS, COMES NORTHAMPTONIÆ, QVINQ. PORTVŪ PREFECTVS, &
PRIVATI SIGILLI CVSTOS, DISERTORŪ LITTERATISSIMVS, LITTERATO-
RVM DISERTISSIMVS;
CAROLVS COMES NOTTINGAMIÆ, MAGNVS ANGLIÆ ADMIRALLVS VICTORIOSVS;
THOMAS SVFFOLCIÆ COMES, REGIS CAMERARIVS SPLENDIDISSIMVS,
TRES VIRI NOBILISSIMI EX ANTIQVA HOWARDORŪ FAMILIA DVCVMQ.
NORFOLCIÆ PROSAPIA;
EDWARDVS SOMERSETVS COMES WIGORNIÆ, EQVIS REGIIS PRÆFECTVS
ORNATISSIMVS;
CAROLVS BLUNT COMES DEVONIÆ, HYBERNIÆ PROREX & PACIFICATOR;
JOANNES ARESKINVS ILLVSTRIS MARRIÆ COMES, PRÆCIPVARŪ IN SCOTIA ARCIVM
PRÆFECTVS;
GEORGIVS HVMIVS DVMBARI COMES, SCOTIÆ THESAURARIVS PRVDENTISSIM';
OMNES ILLVSTRISS' ORDINIS GARTERI MILITES.
JOANNES POPHAM, MILES, IUSTICIARIVS ANGLIÆ CAPITALIS,
& JUSTICIÆ CONSVLTISSIMVS.

DEO OPT: MAX: TRIVNO, SOSPITATORI, &
TANTÆ, TAM ATROCIS, TAMQ. INCREDIBILIS IN REGEM
CLEMENTISS: IN REGINAM SERENISS': IN DIVINÆ INDOLIS & OP-
TIME SPEI PRINCIPEM, CÆTERAMQ. PROGENIEM REGIAM, ET IN OM-
NEM OMNIVM ORDINEM, & NOBILITATIS ANTIQVÆ, & FORTITVDINIS AVITÆ,
ET PIETATIS CASTISSIMÆ, & JUSTITIÆ SANCTISSIMÆ FLOREM PRÆCIPVVM,
CONJURATIONIS EXEQUENDÆ NITROSI PVLVERIS SVBIECTI INFLAMMATIONE,
CHRISTIANÆ VEREQ. RELIGIONIS EXTINGVENDÆ FVRIOSA LIBIDINE, ET
REGNI STIRPITVS EVERTENDI NEFARIA CVPIDITATE, A JESVITIS ROMANENSIBVS,
PERFIDIÆ CATHOLICÆ & IMPIETATIS VIPERINÆ AVTORIBVS & ASSERTORIBVS,
ALIISQ. EJVSDEM AMENTIÆ SCELERISQ. PATRATORIBVS & SOCIIS SVSCEPTÆ, & IN
IPSO PESTIS DEREPEMTE INFERENDÆ ARTICVLO (SALVTIS ANNO + 1605 + MENSIS
NOVEMBRIS DIE QUINTO) TAM PRÆTER SPEM, QVAM SVPRÆ FIDEM MIRI-
FICE ET DIVINITVS DETECTÆ AVERRVNCO, ET VINDICI, GRATES
QVANTAS ANIMI CAPERE POSSENT MAXIMAS ET IMMORTALES, A NOBIS
OMNIBVS, ET POSTERIS NOSTRIS HABERI ET AGI GVLIELMVVS WAADE
MILES TVRRI A DOMINO REGE PRÆFECTVS, POSITO PERPE-
TVO HOC MONVMENTO VOLVIT, DIE NONO MENSIS

OCTB. ANNO REGNI JACOBI PRIME * SEXTO,
AÑO DÑI 1608.

CONJVRATORV NOMINA, AD PER-
PETVĀ IPSORV INFAMIAM ET TANTÆ DIRI-
TATIS DETESTATIONEM SEMPITERNAM.

		THOMAS WINTER	THOMAS PERCY
		ROBERT WINTER	ROBERT CATESBY
	HENRY GARNET	JOHN WINTER	JOHN WRIGHT
MONACHI SALVTARE	JOHN GERARD	GVY FAWKES	CHRISTOPHER WRIGHT
JESV NOMĒ EMEN-	OSWALD TĒSOND	THOMAS BATES.	FRANCIS TRESHAM
TITI.	EDWARD HALL	EVERARD DIGBY,*	THŌAS ABBINGTON
	HAMŪ	AM'. ROOKEWOOD	EDMŌD BAINEHAM,*
	BALDWĪ	JOHN GRAVNT	WILM STANLEY,*
		ROBERT KEYES	HUGHE OWEN
		HENRY MORGĀ	

מגלה עמקות מכירתו וצא לאחד צלמות :

*Pandit, et in lucem profert de nocte profunda
Terra immersa alte et fati caligine cæca.*

HI OMNES ILLUSTRISS^{MI} VIRI, QVORV NOMINA AD
SEMPITERNAM EORVM MEMORIAM POSTERITATI
CONSECRANDAM PROXIME SVpra AD LINEAM POSITA
SVNT, VT REGI A CONSILIIS, ITA AB EO DELEGATI QVÆ-
SITORES, REIS SINGVLIS INCREDIBILI DILIGENTIA AC CVRA
SÆPIVS APPELLATIS, NEC MINORE SOLERTIA ET DEXTERITATE
PERTENTATIS EORV ANIMIS, EOS SVIS IPSORVM INTER SE
COLLATIS RESPONSIONIBVS CONVICTOS, AD VOLVNTARIAM
CONFESSIONEM ADEGERVNT; ET LATENTEM NEFARIE CON-
JVRATIONIS SERIEM, REMQ. OMNEM VT HACTENVS GESTA;
ET PORRO PER EOS GERENDA ESSET, SVMMA FIDE ERVTĀ
ÆTERNA CVM LAVDE SVA IN LVCEM PRODVXERVNT,
ADEO VT DIVINA SINGVLARI PROVIDENTIA EFFECTV
SIT, VT TAM PRÆSENS, TAMQ. FEDA TEMPESTAS A
REGIA MAJESTATE, LIBERISQ. REGIIS ET OMNI
REGNO DEPVLsa, IN IPSOS AVTORES EORVQ.
SOCIOS REDVNDARIT.

* Sic, pro PRIMĪ.—Under this inscription is the cypher of Sir W. Waade.

At the ends of the monument, slightly scratched in a different character on the cornice, are the following lines :—

*Inclite Rex, tu es Vincū per quod Resp. cohæret ;
Tu spiritus Vitalis quem tot millia trahunt.
Nihil ipsa per se futura, nisi onus et preda,
Si mens illa Imperii subtrahatur.*

*Rex, Regina, pius Princeps, regni omnis et ordo
Destinata truci præda voranda rogo
Vipereo a genere et graviter spirantib' Hydria ;
Virus Jesuadum de feritate lupe
Spemq. fidemq. supra eripitur divinitus, Ergo
Ordo habeat grates omnis agatq. Deo.*

*In nos, sancte Parens, quot vigilantie
Et quam mira tuæ pignora suppetunt ?
Quæ nec mens acie cernere languida
Possit, nec numero lingua retexere.*

*Custodis Custos sum, Carcer Carceris, arcis
Arx, atque Argu* Argus ; sum specula specula :
Sum vincū in inclis ;* Compes cum Compede clavū
Firmo hærens teneo tentus habens habeor.
Dum regi regnoq. salus stet firma quieta
Splendida sim Compes Compedis usque licet.*

It was in the apartment in which the above-mentioned monument is fixed, that the commissioners met to examine the conspirators, and it has thence derived the name of the Council Chamber.

The bust of king James is also fixed in the wall, on the same side of the room as the monument : it is well executed, in imitation of bronze : the monarch is represented with an animated countenance, and wearing a sort of Spanish hat with feathers.

THE BELL-TOWER.

This tower is situated immediately behind the last mentioned

* Sic pro VINCLIS.

building, and takes its name from being surmounted by a small wooden turret containing the alarm bell of the garrison. It is of a circular form, and consists of only one floor above the ground; the walls are of great thickness, and light is admitted to the lower part by narrow embrasures, or loop-holes. The architecture of the basement floor is worthy of particular notice; it has a vaulted roof of a very curious construction, with deep recesses in the walls.

This tower now forms part of the domestic offices of the resident governor, but has formerly been used as a prison, and derives some celebrity from having been the place of confinement of that great martyr, Fisher, bishop of Rochester: it is also said to have been that in which the princess, afterwards queen, Elizabeth, was lodged, when imprisoned in the tower by her bigotted and cruel sister, queen Mary: this tradition, however, is unsupported by any historical facts, and it is much more probable that she was confined, during that period, in some of the royal apartments, which were situate in a different part of the fortress. At the entrance to the uppermost room the following anonymous and undated inscription, rudely cut in stone, has been left by some prisoner.

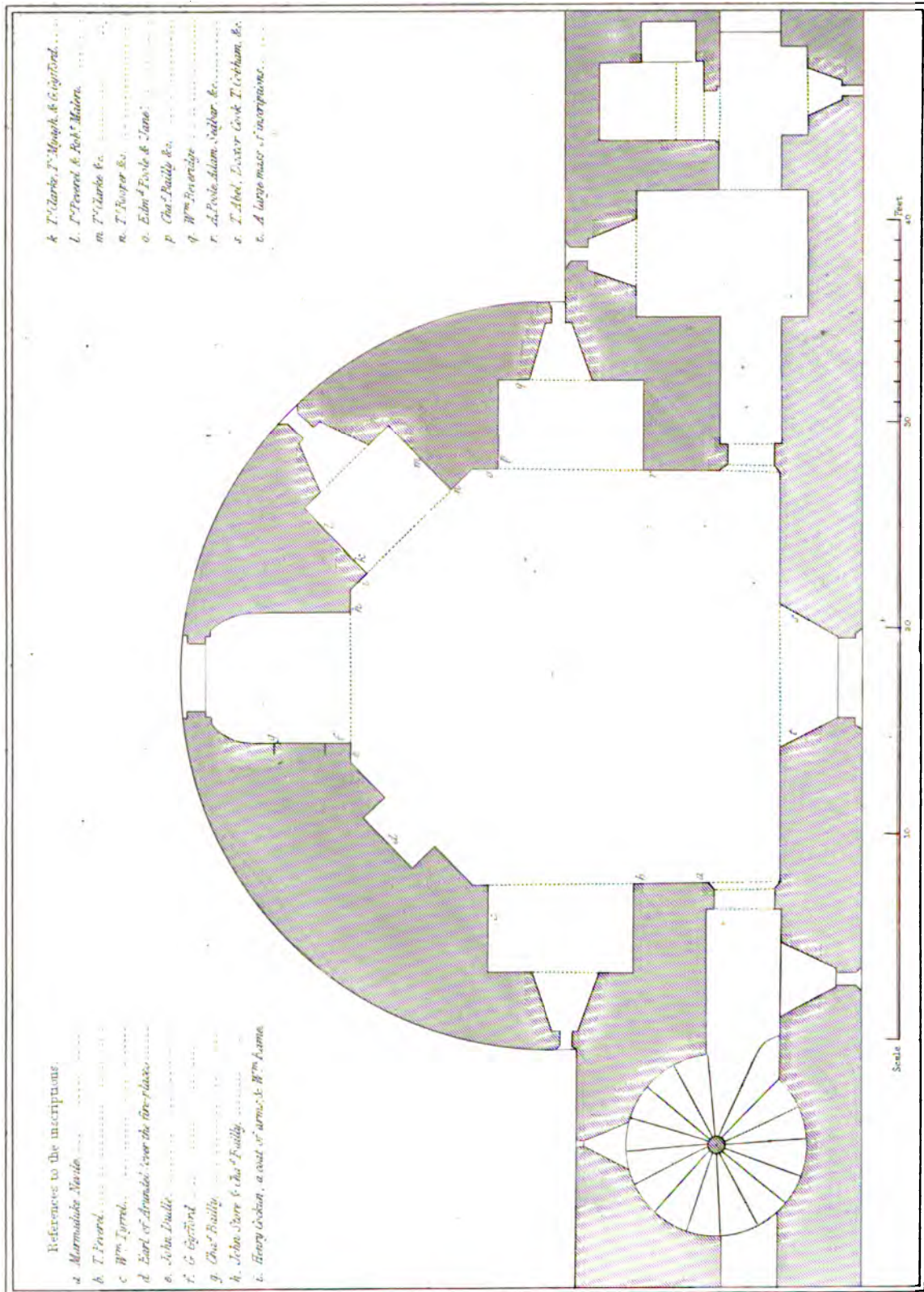
BI . TORTVRE . STRAVNGE . MY .
TROVTH . WAS . TRIED . YET . OF .
MY . LYBERTIE . DENIED : THER . FOR .
RESON . HATH . ME . PERSWADED :
THAT . PASYENS . MVST : BE . YM-
BRASYD : THOUGH . HARD . FORTVNE .
CHASYTH . ME . WYTH . SMART .
YET . PASYENS . SHALL . PREVAYL .

Proceeding from the Bell-Tower, northward, the next fortification, in the line of the inner enclosure, is

THE BEAUCHAMP, OR COBHAM TOWER,

Which stands at the distance of 141 feet from the last-mentioned building, and has a communication with it by means of a paved foot-way along the top of the ballium wall. In the reign of Henry the

* Fuller's Church History, lib. v. p. 203.



Drawn by F. No. 1. 1892

J. Barret, Sc.

Eighth it was called the Beauchamp Tower, and is at present most commonly known by that title, which is derived, probably, from its having been the place of confinement of Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who was imprisoned in the Tower previous to his banishment to the Isle of Man, in 1397; as the latter appellation is from the Cobhams, some of whom were certainly confined here in the reign of queen Mary, having been implicated in Wyatt's conspiracy.

This, like the rest of the ancient buildings, was formerly embattled, and consists of two stories, ascended by a circular stone staircase. The annexed plan of the first floor shews the form and dimensions of the building, and, from the accompanying interior view, it will be seen, that the style of architecture corresponds with that which prevailed in the time of king John, and the early part of the reign of king Henry the Third; the period when most of the small towers in the inner ward were erected.

The Beauchamp Tower, from its having been one of the principal state-prisons, and the place wherein many illustrious and unfortunate persons have been confined, excites a degree of interest, which is heightened by the numerous inscriptions, coats of arms, and other devices,* left on its dreary walls by those unhappy sufferers. In old times state delinquents were generally subjected to the meanest and most severe restrictions: the use of books, and even many of the necessary comforts of life, being, not unfrequently, denied them. In that wretched situation they appear to have had recourse to this species of amusement, to beguile their solitary hours, and alleviate the horrors of imprisonment. Some have left memorials of their faith; others recorded their names and the dates of their confinement: some have breathed forth sentiments of piety and resignation; others have repined at the will of Heaven.

Of the barbarous treatment experienced by state prisoners in former times we may, from many others, select, as remarkable examples,

* These memorials were discovered in 1796, on making some alterations for the purpose of converting the building to a mess-house for the officers of the garrison, and were, for the most part, communicated in the same year to the Society of Antiquaries, with some interesting observations by their secretary, the Rev. Mr. Brand: many of them, however, will be found to have been, at that time, very inaccurately represented.—Vide *Archaeologia*, vol. xiii. pp. 68, 99.

the miseries endured by John Fisher, bishop of Rochester; and that illustrious peer, Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk; both imprisoned in the time of king Henry the Eighth. The former, who fell a victim to his opinion of the pope's supremacy, thus concludes a letter^a from his prison to Cromwell, then secretary of state: "Forthermoor I byseche yow to be gode master un to me in my necessite; for I have neither shirt, nor sute, nor yett other clothes, that ar necessary for me to wear, but that bee ragged, and rent to shamefully. Notwithstandyng I myght easily suffer that, if thei wold keep my body warm. But my dyett allso, God knoweth how slendar it is at meny tymes. And now in myn age my sthomak may nott awaye but with a few kynd of meats, which if I want, I decaye forthwith, & fall in to coafes & diseases of my bodye, & kan not keep myself in health. And, ass our Lord knoweth, I have no thyng laft un to me for to provyde eny better, but ass my brother of his own purs layeth out for me, to his great hynderance. Wherfoor gode master secretaire eftsones I byseche yow to have sum pittee uppon me, and latt me have such thyngs ass ar necessary for me in myn age, & specially for my health. And allso that itt may pleas yow by yo' hygh wysdom, to move the Kyng's Highness to take me un to his gracios favor agane, & to restore me un to my liberty, owt of this cold and paynefull enprysonment; whearby ye shall bynd me to be your pore beadsmañ for ever un to Allmyghty God, who ever have yow in his proteccion & custoody.

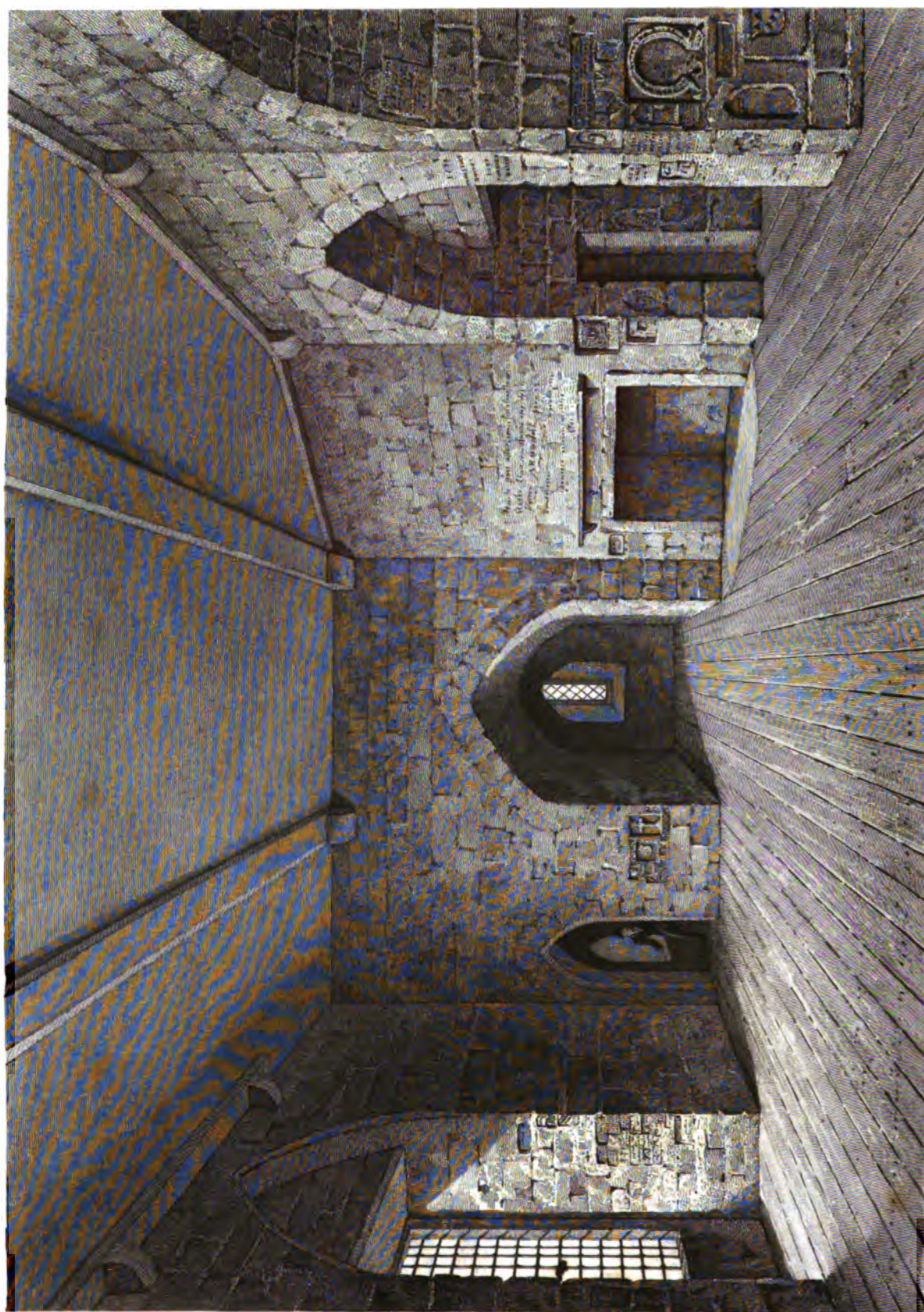
Other twayne thyngs I mustt allso desyer uppon yow: thatt oon is, that itt may pleas yow that I may take some preest with in the Towr, by the assyngment of master levetenant, to hear my confession againste this hooly tyme:

That other is, that I may borow sum bowks to styr my devocion mor effectuely thes hooly dayes, for the comforth of my sowl. This I byseche yow to grant me of your charitie. And thus our Lord send yow a mery Christenmass & a comforthable, to your hart's desyer. At the Towr the xxii. day of December.

Yo' pore Beadsmañ. Jo. Roff'."

The duke of Norfolk, who is said to have escaped the block by

^a Bibl. Cotton. Cleopat. E. VI. fol. 172.



Engraved by H. Hobson.

Drawn by F. Smith.

View of the interior of the church of St. John the Baptist, looking towards the altar.

See page 10.

the death of Henry on the very morning appointed for his execution, in a petition to the lords,* from the Tower, besought that he might have some books which were then at Lambeth; for, says he, "unless I have books to read, ere long I fall asleep, and after I wake again I cannot sleep, nor did not this dozen years," farther requesting, "that he might have a ghostly father sent to him, and that he might receive his maker;" and "that he might have mass, and to be bound upon his life to speak no word to him that shall say mass, which he may do in the other chamber and I to remain within." He also begged to have license in the day-time to walk in the chamber without, and in the night to be locked in as he then was. "At my first coming," says he, "I had a chamber without a-days. I would gladly have license to send to London, to buy one book of St. Augustin's, *de Civitate Dei*; and one of Josephus, *de Antiquitatibus*; and another of Sabellicus, who doth declare, most of any book I have read, how the bishop of Rome from time to time hath usurped his power against all princes, by their unwise sufferance." His grace moreover begged of their lordships that he might be allowed sheets to lie upon!

The chief prison-room in this tower is a spacious apartment on the first floor; and adjoining it are two small cells, probably intended for the better securing of prisoners by night. In the walls of the former are four large recesses, in each of which there was a narrow embrasure; but these have of late years been-stopped up, and, in lieu of them, two additional windows made towards the east. The inscriptions, most of which are still tolerably perfect on the walls, are referred to in the annexed plan, in order as described in the following pages.

On the left hand side of the entrance to the room is the name MARMADUKE NEVILE, of whom we find no certain account; but there is reason to conjecture that he was of the family of the Neviles, earls of Westmorland, and, probably, concerned in the rebellion of 1569, wherein they took so active a part; and for which, Charles Nevile, the last of his surname who bore the title of earl of Westmorland, together with some of his relations, and about fifty others of noble extraction, were attainted of high treason, and outlawed.

* Herbert in vita et regn. Hen. VIII.

Near to the above, is a large piece of sculpture, represented in the annexed plate, consisting of the arms of the family of Peverell,—three wheat-sheaves; on one side of which is a representation of the crucifix, bearing the initials of its superscription, and a bleeding heart: there is also part of the figure of a skeleton, with an illegible inscription underneath, and the word “Peverel.” The same person has likewise left, on the opposite side of the room, another carving in the form of a horse-shoe, with a mutilated sentence round it, beginning with the words ADORAMUS TE, and below, his name, THOMAS PEVEREL. Concerning whom no information has hitherto been discovered: it is probable, however, that he was some person of the Roman catholic communion, and imprisoned, perhaps, in the time of queen Elizabeth, for opposing the protestant church. Both these inscriptions are without date.

On the right-hand side of the first recess is the following memorial in old Italian :^a

DISPOI : CHE : VOLE : LA :
 FORTVNA : CHE : LA : MEA :
 SPERANSA : VA : AL : VEN
 TO : PIANGER : HO : VOLIO :
 EL : TEMPO : PERDVDO :
 E : SEMPER : STEL : ME :
 TRISTO : E : DISCONTETO .

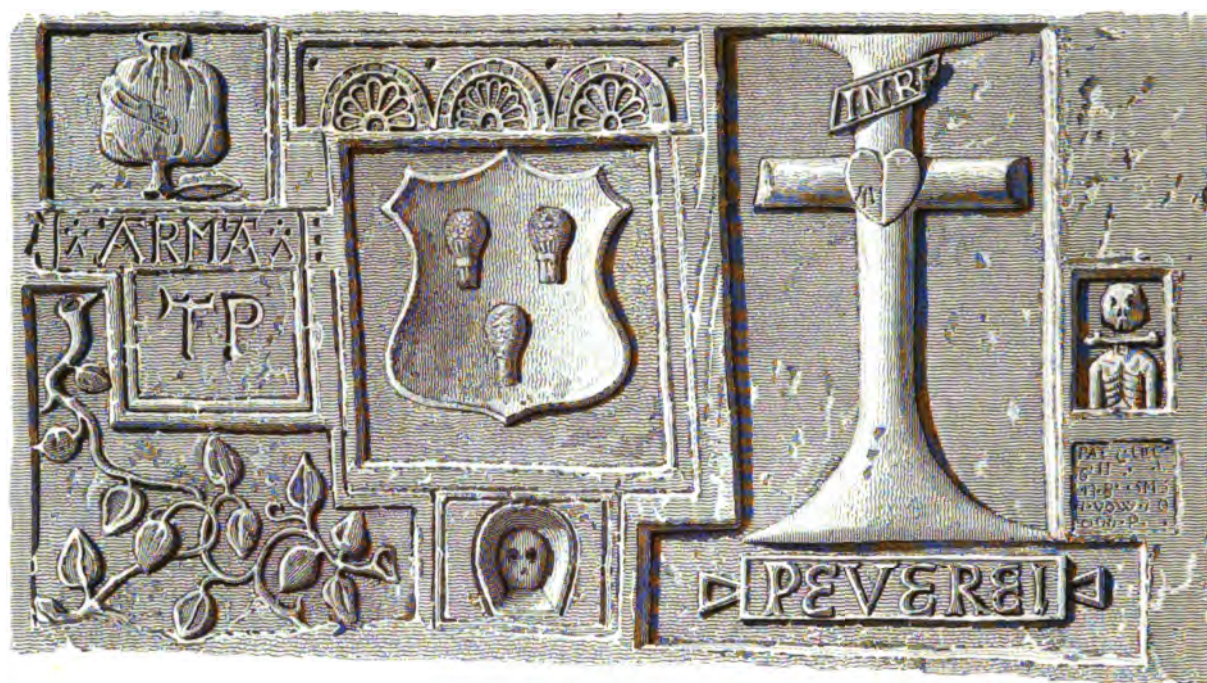
·WILIM : TYRREL .

1541 .

No account has been left us of this prisoner; but from the language adopted, it may be conjectured that he was the William Tyrrel from whom we find two letters^b dated at Malta, in 1534, and addressed to the lord prior of St. John of Jerusalem, in England, concerning the war with the Turks, and on the subject of Clement West, an English

^a ‘ Since fortune hath chosen that my hope should go to the wind to complain, I wish the time were destroyed; my planet being ever sad and unpropitious.’

^b Bibl. Cotton. Otho. C. IX. 48, 49.



In tanto plus afflictionis pro christo in hoc
 saeculo tanto plus gloria cum christo in
 futuro ARundell June 22
 gloria et honore *et in* 1587
 coronasti domine
 In memoria aeterna erit iustus
 ATUG. 1583

Engraved by F. Naam.

Engraved by J. Eyer.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE VICTIMS AND OUR LORD OF AUSTRIAN, IN THE
 BATTLE OF BATTLE.

London, 1848.

London, Published March 1848, by T. Cadell, in the Strand.

knight,* who had been degraded by a chapter of the Order of Malta, for having, in defiance of the regulations, borne a badge with king Henry the Eighth's arms, and having been otherwise contumacious : for which he was stript of the grand cross, deprived of the office of turcupulary, and imprisoned ; but afterwards restored.

Whatever might have been the cause of William Tyrrel's confinement, it seems not improbable but that he was under sentence of death when he made the above melancholy inscription ; which is one of those genuine effusions of anguish that may be styled in the pathetic language of the Book of Psalms, " the sorrowful sighing of the prisoner."

The next inscription is one, considerably defaced, on the left-hand side of the fire-place : the words OMNES . HONORATE , FRATERNITATEM . DILIGITE . DEVM . TIMETE . REGEM, may be made out ; but the name and date, which appear to have been subscribed, are wholly illegible.

Over the fire-place is the interesting autograph of Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, eldest son of Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded in 1572, for aspiring to the bed of Mary queen of Scots. It is represented in the preceding plate, and consists of the following words :

*Quanto plus afflictionis pro Christo in hoc
sæculo, tanto plus gloriæ cum Christo in
futuro. Arundell. June 22. 1587.*

Gloria et honore eum coronasti domine.

In memoria eterno erit justus.

At . . .

This unhappy peer has also left other memorials of his piety on the walls of this once dreary habitation : in the staircase is one, in a similar character,^b wherein he thus glories in his innocence, and the cause of his suffering :

*William Tyrrel was also, perhaps, a knight of that order, and, if the same person, it is probable, might have acquired his knowledge of the Italian language during his service on that occasion against the Turks.

^b This has of late years been plastered over, and is now invisible.

*Sicut peccati causa vinciri opprobrium est,
ita e contra, pro Christo custodia vincula
sustinere, maxima gloria est.*

Arundell . May , 28 . 1587.

The above pious reflections, to which the earl has subscribed his name, are "remarkably adapted," says Mr. Brand, "to the character that has been left of him; according with the austerities, which, Camden tells us, he used to practise; and the tenor of his behaviour, which other accounts have transmitted to us, as not unbecoming the primitive ages of the Christian church."

The sentences subjoined to the former, seem to have been added, by way of eulogium on his memory, probably by some subsequent Roman catholic prisoner.

By the attainder of his father, the title of duke of Norfolk being forfeited, this Philip was called earl of Arundel, as owner of Arundel Castle in Sussex, by descent from his mother; it having, in the eleventh of Henry VI. been adjudged in parliament^a to be a local dignity, so that the possessors thereof should enjoy that title of honor.^b Whereupon he was summoned as earl of Arundel to the parliament, which began at Westminster, January the 16th, 1580.^c

In the same parliament he was also restored in blood,^d and afterwards made a privy counsellor; but this cheerful dawn of fortune was soon overshadowed by the dark clouds of adversity. Robbed of the queen's favour, by the artifices of the earl of Leicester and secretary Walsingham, he first experienced the frowns of majesty, and ere long tasted of the bitter cup of its displeasure. In 1584 he was confined to his own house^e on pretence of practising against the government in favor of that unhappy queen, on whose account his father had been brought to an untimely end. The earl, says Camden,^f 'had privily reconciled himself to the popish religion, living likewise a very austere life;' and queen Elizabeth during this restraint, offered to restore him to liberty, if he would carry the

^a Rot. Parl. 11 Hen. VI. m. 9. in Turr. Lond.

^b Collins's Peerage by Sir E. Brydges, vol. i. p. 108.

^c Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 528. ^d Diar. domus Procerum in parliament.

^e Camden's Elizabeth, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 503.

^f Ibid.

sword of state before her to chapel, and there attend the service of the established church; but this he conscientiously refused: and, his enemies being unable to substantiate any charge against him, he at length regained his freedom. Alarmed by this attack upon his liberty, and terrified by the severity of certain laws soon after made against Jesuits and priests,^a he resolved to seek in another country that peace and security which his own denied him. He accordingly wrote a long and dutiful letter to the queen,^b informing her of the reasons which had impelled him to that measure, without her royal will. He complained of having been discountenanced by her majesty, without any known cause: of his enemies being allowed to triumph in his disgrace: of being twice called before the council, and accused of some things, so trivial as to be ridiculous, and of others, so unlikely that they were incredible: yet, 'after answering all these objections, he was confined to his house for fifteen weeks, without the least offence being proved against him.'

"Wherefore," says he, "after I had safely escaped these storms, and when I was clearly delivered from all my troubles, I began to remember y^e heavy sentence w^{ch} had lighted upon those three of my ancestors w^{ch} immediately went before me. The first, being my great-grandfather, who was so free from all suspicion and shew of any fault, as, because they had no colour of matter to bring him to his trial, they attainted him by act of parliament without calling him to his answer. The second, being my grandfather, who was brought to his trial and condemned for such trifles, as amazed y^e standers-by at that tyme, and are rediculous at this day, to all that heare y^e same." And the last, "being my father, being arraigned according to lawe, and condemned by his peers, God forbidd but I should thinke that his tryers did that, whereunto theyr consciences did lead them. And yet, give me leave, I most humbly beseech your Ma^{ty}, to say thus much, That howsoever he might be, eyther unwittingly, or unwillingly, drawne into greater danger, then himselfe did eyther see or imagine; yet, all his actions did plainly declare, and his greatest enemyes must of necessity own, that he never carried any disloyall minde to your Ma^{ty}, nor intended any undutiful act to his country."

^a Ibid.

^b Harleian MSS. No. 787.

"And when I had in this sort both fully and thoroughly considered y^e fortune of these three, w^{ch} was past, I called to mind my own, w^{ch} was present; and I did think it impossible, by y^e shew of this rough beginning, but that I might follow them in their fortunes, as I had succeeded them in their place; for, I considered y^e greatness of my enemies' power to overthrow me, and y^e weakness of my ability to defend myself: I perceived by my last troubles how narrowly my life was sought, and how easy your Majesty was drawn to carry a suspicious opinion of me: I saw by the example of my ancestors, and by my past danger, how innocency was no sufficient warrant to protect me in safety: I knew myself, and besides was charged by your council, to be of that religion w^{ch} was counted odious and dangerous to your state: Lastly and principally, I weighed in what miserable estate and doubtful case my soul had remained if my life had been taken away, as it was not unlikely, in my former troubles."—"Wherefore, whilst I had opportunity, I thought it best to take y^e course w^{ch} might be sure to save my soul from the danger of shipwreck, although my body were subject to y^e peril of misfortune."

"Long," adds the unfortunate earl, "was I in debating with myself what course to take; for when I considered in what continual danger I remained here in England, both by y^e lawes heretofore established, and by a new act lately made, I did thinke it my safest way to depart y^e realm and abide in some other place, where I might live without danger to my conscience, and without offence to your majesty; without y^e servile subjection to my enemies, and without this daily peril to my life. And yet I was drawn by such forcible persuasions to be of another opinion, as I could not easily resolve on w^{ch} part to settle and ground my determination: for, on y^e one side, my native country; my friends; my wife; my kinsfolk, did invite me to stay; and, on y^e other side, y^e misfortune of my house; y^e power of my adversaries; y^e remembrance of my former troubles, and y^e knowledge of my present danger, did hasten me to go."

After entreating the queen to appeal to his greatest enemies, if under like perilous circumstances they would not have taken similar steps for their preservation, he continues, "Wherefore as it is a true token of a noble mind, and hath always been noted for certain argu-

ment of your majesty's gracious disposition, to respect wth y^e eyes of favor all afflicted persons; so can I not be brought a whit to fear, that your majesty will make me y^e first example of your severe and rigorous dealing, in laying your displeasure upon me, who am enforced to forsake my country; to forego my friends; to leave my living; and loose y^e hope of all worldly pleasures and earthly commodities; if either I will not certainly consent to y^e destruction of my body, or willingly yeild to y^e manifest endangering of my soul; y^e least of w^{ch} is so intolerable for any christian man to endure, as I hope it cannot be thought any undutifulness in me, if I seek by good and lawful means to avoid so great an inconvenience. And though y^e loss of temporal comodities be so grievous unto flesh and blood, as I could not desire to live, if I were not comforted by y^e hope of eternal happiness in another world, and with y^e remembrance of his mercy, for whom I endured all this, & who did endure ten thousand times more for me. Yet, I assure your Ma^{ty}, that your displeasure should be more unpleasant to me than y^e bitterness of other losses, and a greater grief than y^e greatest of my misfortunes."

His lordship had designed that this letter should have been delivered to the queen immediately after his departure; ^a but in this he was disappointed: it fell into the hands of the ministry: and himself, whilst on the point of setting sail from an obscure creek, on the coast of Sussex, was apprehended, through the treachery of his own servants, and conveyed prisoner to the Tower.^b

A charge was now brought against him in the Star-chamber, of having supported Romish priests contrary to law; of having holden intelligence with cardinal Allen, and Parsons the Jesuit, the queen's enemies; of having publicly, in writing, questioned the justice of the kingdom; and that he had intentions of departing the realm without license.^c The earl protested his obedience to the queen, and love to his country: and, in extenuation of the faults imputed to him, pleaded his affection to the catholic religion, and his ignorance of the laws:^d he was, nevertheless, obliged to submit to the censure

^a Camden's Reign of Queen Eliz. in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 504.

^b Harleian MSS. No. 787. Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 504.

^c Camden.

^d Ibid.

of the bench ; was fined ten thousand pounds, and sentenced to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure.^a

Here, however, ended not his troubles : the attempted invasion of the Spaniards in 1588, plunged him into yet deeper misfortunes. " He was still confined in the Tower," says Carte, " when the Spanish armada entered the channel, and could not forbear expressing his joy at the news : he had likewise caused a mass of the Holy Ghost to be said for its success ; and a course of devotions to be used for twenty-four hours together." These things highly incensed the queen, and furnished his enemies with ground for attempting his final destruction. From the moment of this new displeasure, the nature of his confinement was changed : he had before experienced some degree of lenity and kindness, but was now made a close prisoner, and treated with all the severity, with which the religious zeal of the age was so strongly tinctured. In this state his lordship remained till the 14th of April in the following year, when he was arraigned of high treason,^b and tried before twenty-five peers in Westminster-hall. His lordship appeared in a wrought velvet gown, furred with martins, laid about with gold lace, and fastened with gold buttons ; a black satin doublet ; a pair of velvet hose ; and a high black hat. The points of his indictment consisted of those, on which he had formerly been convicted in the Star-chamber ; together with five additional articles, whereby he was charged " with engaging to assist cardinal Allen in his attempts to re-establish popery ; suggesting that the queen was unfit to govern ; procuring mass to be said for the success of the Spanish armada ; intending to withdraw himself beyond the seas, to serve under the duke of Parma against his native country ; and being privy to the bull of pope Sixtus V. transferring the queen's dominion to Philip II. king of Spain."^c The offences which before had been charged upon him as contempts and misdemeanours, were now brought against him as treasons : two emblematical figures,^d found in his lordship's house, were also produced in

^a Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 512.

^b Harleian MSS. No. 834, Art. 5.

^c Collins's Peerage by Sir Egerton Brydges, vol. i. p. 110.

^d One of these represented a hand shaking a snake in the fire, with the motto, *If God be with us, who can be against us?* The other, a lion without claws, with the words, *Yet still a lion.*

evidence; it was urged, "that he was guilty of treason, because a papist; that the queen of Scots had considered him as one of her best friends; that cardinal Allen had spoken of him as the chief hope of the Roman Catholics in England; and that his letter to queen Elizabeth plainly accused the national justice, with regard to his father's trial." The earl pointed out several inconsistencies in the indictment; he exposed the mean artifices of his prosecutors; and so ably answered to the several points of his accusation, that the only article of high treason proved against his lordship, was, that of being reconciled to the church of Rome; upon which his judges unanimously found him guilty,^a and he accordingly received sentence of death; but, his conviction being solely on a religious account, he was reprieved from time to time, and suffered to languish in the Tower, where he passed the remainder of his days in exercises of devotion. After condemnation the earl besought his judges to intercede with her majesty that his wife might be allowed to visit him with his infant son, whom he had never seen, having been born since his imprisonment; but Elizabeth, who was a stranger to the feelings of a parent, even denied him this favour: towards the end of his life, however, he earnestly renewed his petition; and she is said to have been then so far moved with compassion, as to offer him his pardon; his liberty; restoration of his titles and estates; and the company of his wife and child, on condition that he would forsake the faith, for which he had been so long and so great a sufferer, and embrace the doctrines of the established church. All this he refused! and worn out with sorrow, was soon after called from his afflictions in this world, to the reward of his virtues in a better. He died, October the nineteenth, 1595, in the fortieth year of his age; 'thus, as it were, compensating, by a close confinement for upwards of ten years, the fatal stroke undergone by his father, his grandfather, and great-grandfather.'

We are informed by Dodd, in his Church History,^b that this unhappy nobleman was a zealous professor of the Catholic faith, of which he gave many remarkable proofs during his sufferings in the cause: in person, he was very tall, and rather of a swarthy com-

^a Hargrave's State Trials. Collins's Peerage, by Sir E. Brydges.

^b Vol. ii. p. 37.

plexion; but with an agreeable mixture of sweetness and grandeur in countenance, and a soul superior to all human considerations.

The earl was first buried in the Tower chapel, in the same grave with his father; but was removed in 1624, and re-interred in the church at Arundel, where, on opening a vault for the burial of Edward duke of Norfolk in 1777, the coffin was found, having on it the following inscription :^a

“ PHILIPPI comitis olim *Arund' & Surr'* ossa veneranda hoc loculo condita, impetratâ a *Jacobo Rege* veniâ, *Annæ* uxoris delectissimæ cura *Thomæ* filii insigni pietate a *Turri Londinensi* in hunc locum translata sunt, anno 1624. Qui primo, ob fidei Catho' professionem sub *Elizabetha* carceri mancipatus, deinde pœna pecuniaria 10,000 lib' mulctatus, tandem capitis iniquissimè condemnatus, post vitam in tristissima custodia in eadem *Turri* an. 10, mens. 6, sanctissimè transactum piissimè. 19. Oct. 1595. non absque veneni suspicione, in Domino obdormivit.”

A late duchess of the same family is said to have procured the skull, and to have had it enchased in gold; which she kept to exalt her devotion as a relique of a martyr to religion.^b

On the right hand side of the fire-place is a large and well-executed piece of sculpture, by John Dudley, earl of Warwick,^c eldest son of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, and brother to Guildford Dudley, who married the unfortunate lady Jane Grey. Having taken part with his ambitious father in the rash attempt to set aside the succession, as established by king Henry the Eighth, and to place the crown on the head of lady Jane, he was arrested at Cambridge, with the duke and several others; who were all brought prisoners to the Tower on the twenty-fifth of July, 1553.^d On the eighteenth of the following month he was arraigned of high treason, together with his father and the marquis of Northampton, in West-

^a Pennant's Account of London.

^b Ibid.

^c Mr. Brand is decidedly wrong in attributing this to John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, and equally so in stating Guildford Dudley to be the duke's *youngest* son, and Ambrose Dudley the *duke's brother*.—Vide *Archæologia*, vol. xiii. p. 69, 70.

^d Godwin's *Life and Reign of Queen Mary*, in *Kennet*, vol. ii. p. 332.—*Strype's Memorials of the Reformation*, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 23.



Drawn by F. H. H.

Engraved by J. I. Y.

THE SECRETION OF JOHN DUDLEY, EARL OF WARWICK

No. 1. 100. 201

London, Published March 6 1876 by J. Gaskell, on the Strand

minster-hall,^a and condemned; but, being reprieved, died soon afterwards in prison.^b

This curious carving is represented with its dimensions in the annexed plate: under the badge of the lion and bear and ragged staff, is his name in the spelling of the age, and, around it, a border formed of oak sprigs, roses, and two other species of flowers, emblematical of the christian names of his four brothers, as it should seem from the following unfinished inscription.

YOW THAT THESE BEASTS DO WEL BEHOLD AND SE,
MAY DEME WITH EASE WHEREFORE HERE MADE THEY BE,
WITH BORDERS EKE WHEREIN—————
4 BROTHERS NAMES WHO LIST TO SERCHE THE GROUND.

The names of his four brothers were, Ambrose, Robert, Guildford, and Henry; and taking it for granted that the pun, which is evidently couched under the above lines, has an allusion to them,^d we may conjecture that the roses separated, in one corner, are meant for the name of Ambrose, his next eldest brother: the elucidation of the remaining part of this singular device may be left as an interesting puzzle.

Immediately under the above-mentioned inscription of John Dudley, is a rude carving of a man in the attitude of prayer: it seems to have been left unfinished, and is without name or date. About the same part of the room there are marks of other inscriptions, but so mutilated as to be now wholly illegible.

At the entrance to the recess on the right hand side of the fireplace, are the following words, DOLOR PATIENTIA VINCITVR. G. GYF-FORD. AVGVST. 8. 1586. And in another part of this chamber is a piece of sculpture by the same person, consisting of a crest, formed

^a Godwin, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 332.—Styrye's Memorials, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 32.

^b Godwin, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 332.

^c This line may be filled up with the words, *there may be found*.

^d They were prisoners in the Tower at the same time, but were all pardoned, with the exception of Guildford; who, it is well known, was beheaded on the same morning as his unfortunate wife, lady Jane Grey: Ambrose was restored in blood by queen Mary, and, in 1557, was at the siege of St. Quintin's; by queen Elizabeth he was appointed master of the ordnance, for life; created viscount Lisle, and earl of Warwick: and afterwards, for his services as captain-general of the forces in Normandy, made knight of the garter. Of Robert we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Henry was killed at the siege of St. Quintins.

of a hand grasping three flowers; and, under it, a shield bearing the arms of Gifford, as given by Edmondson to the Giffords of Worcestershire, Buckinghamshire, Ireland, and Wotton-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire, namely, argent, ten torteauxes, four, three, two, and one.^a On each side of the shield is the letter G. with the date 1586, and underneath, are the words MALA CONSCIENTIA FACIT VT RVTA TIMEANTVR. G. GYFFORD.

It is most probable that these inscriptions were made by George Gyfford, one of queen Elizabeth's gentlemen pensioners, who, in that year, was accused falsely, says Camden, of having sworn to kill her majesty, and of having drawn a considerable sum of money on that account from the duke of Guise.^b There was, however, a doctor Gifford, about the same time concerned in Babington's conspiracy, and also a Gilbert Gifford, a priest; but it is not likely to have been this latter; for, being employed to convey letters between the fugitives in France and Mary queen of Scots, then a prisoner in England, he shewed all the communications to secretary Walsingham, and "having acted thus far his part in the scene was sent back into France."^c

In different parts of the room are memorials of Charles Bailly: one of these, on the left hand side of the last-mentioned recess, is considerably mutilated: it consisted of a panel ornamented with lozenges, containing the following reflections; the prudence of which, experience had recently taught him.

I. H. S.

1571. die 10^o Aprilis.

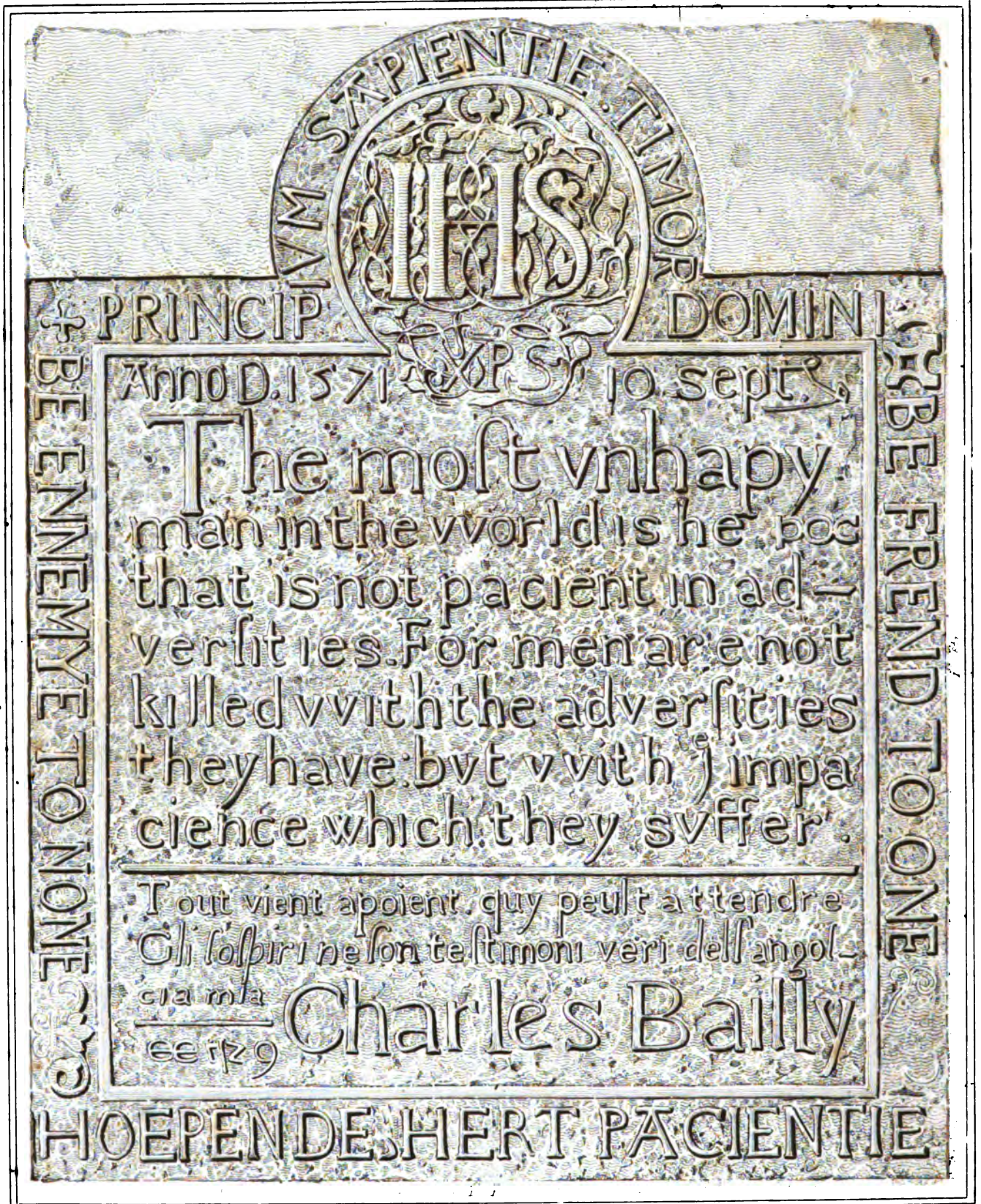
"Wise men ought circumspectly to se what they do; to examine before they speake; to prove before they take in hand; to beware whose company they use; and, above al things, to whom they truste. Charles Bailly."

In another place we find his name, with the date 1571, and a third inscription of the same person is represented in the annexed

^a Archaeologia, vol. xiii. p. 82.

^b Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 515. Carleton's Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercie, p. 106.

^c Camden in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 515.



Drawn by F. Nesh

Engraved by J. Fye

THE MOST UNHAPPY MAN IN THE WORLD IS HE, THAT IS NOT PATIENT IN ADVERSITIES.

Printed by W. Lister

London: Published for the Proprietors by T. Cadell, in the Strand.

plate: it is long, well executed, and interesting: the words are, "*Principium sapientie timor Domini. I. H. S. X. P. S. Be frend to one. Be ennemye to none. Anno D. 1571. 10. Sept. The most unhappy man in the world is he that is not pácient in adversities; For men are not killed with the adversities they have: but with y^e impacience which they suffer.*"

*Tout vient apoient, quy peult attendre
Gli sospiri ne son testimoni veri dell'angoscia mia.*

æt. 29. Charles Bailly.

The unhappy young man who has left us the above memorials, was an adherent to the interests of Mary queen of Scots, and secretly engaged in her affairs abroad, whilst she was prisoner in England. He appears to have been by birth a Fleming or Brabander,^a and not, as his name and service would indicate, a Scotchman, though perhaps of Scotch extraction. In the early part of the year in which the above inscriptions were made, being dispatched into this country by Ridolphi the Florentine, with letters in cipher, for his unfortunate mistress, and also for the Spanish ambassador, the duke of Norfolk, the bishop of Ross, and lord Lumley;^b on his arrival at Dover was seized and committed to prison,^c where he seems to have undergone the greatest privations and misery. The packet of letters came to the hands of lord Cobham, governor of the Cinque ports, but Ross had sufficient address to get possession of it, and substitute another with less dangerous contents, which was despatched to the council.^d Bailly, for some time after his commitment to prison, contrived to hold correspondence with the Scottish ambassador, and from one of his letters^e we find that he once suffered the tortures of the rack without making any material disclosure; but his communications with Ross being cut off, and having a promise from lord Burghley that he should be set at liberty without stain of his honor and credit,^f he answered all the questions which his lordship put to him. In one of his letters,^g dated from his prison "this month of October, the seventh of my imprisonment, 1571," after most humbly beseeching his lordship

^a Burghley's State Papers, by Murdin, p. 7.

^b Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 434.

^c Ibid.

^d Ibid.

^e Burghley's State Papers, by Murdin, p. 8.

^f Ibid. p. 10.

^g Ibid. p. 15, 17.

“for God’s sake, and for the passion which he suffred for us, to take pitie of me; and to bend your mercyfull eyes towards me, Charles Bailly, a poore prisoner and strânger,” he gave a full account of all the affairs in which he had been engaged, and concluded by saying, “This being all that I can comprehend by sight, letters, or by talk, that I had to do with Rudolphi, restith no more from me, but, after my prayer to God, all the queene’s majestie’s and your lordship’s enemys knowen, to the end they may be overthrowen and destroyed, and all their purposes and enterprises broken, most humbly to beseech your lordship to take compassion of me, in putting me to liberty; assuring your lordship, that I will make othe never to serve any Scottishman agayn, or stranger, whilst I lyve, but the queene’s majesty and your lordship, to whose service I have bene addicted all the tyme of my being in this realm, and have been carefull to shew it indeede; and that your lordship will consyder that I am a stranger, who have no frend at all to help me with a penny, and that I am already naked and torne; and that all those that be touched by that, that I have already opened to your lordship, do laughe me to scorne for this my punishment and handling, who desyre no other thing but my distruction.”

It is probable that soon after this letter he was released, as we find no further mention concerning him. He seems to have received a good education, and besides the English, to have been acquainted with the Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian languages.*

Near to the second inscription of the above-mentioned prisoner is the following memorial:

1570

I HON . STORE.

DOCTOR.

This John Store, or Story, was ‘educated in the university of Oxford, chiefly in Henxey Hall, a most noted house for civilians. He was admitted bachelor of the civil law, anno 1531, and appointed professor of a new lecture, anno 1535, founded by king Henry VIII.

In the year 1537, he was chosen principal of Broadgate’s Hall; and the year following created doctor of laws. Having afterwards performed remarkable services in administering justice at the siege

* Burghley’s State Papers, by Murdin, p. 7.

of Bologna, under the marshal, in consideration thereof his lecture at Oxford was confirmed to him by patent, for life.

In the beginning of Edward the Sixth's reign, being a justice of the peace, and a zealous maintainer of the old religion, he appeared very forward in opposing all innovations, and hindering the people in his neighbourhood from plundering and making a prey of the goods of the church; to which purpose he made a very warm harangue at one of the quarterly meetings. This behaviour being carried to court, he was severely threatened, and soon after obliged to withdraw into Flanders, where he remained the rest of king Edward's reign. Queen Mary's accession favouring his return, he came back into England, and was considered suitably to his capacity and merits. The patent of professor in Oxford was restored to him; but this he quickly gave up for places of greater advantage. He was frequently employed in what regarded the canon law in the courts held in London; and being made chancellor of the diocese of Oxford, it engaged him to be very active in prosecuting the protestants of queen Mary's reign. When queen Elizabeth came to the crown, Dr. Story was a member of the house of commons, and spoke so warmly against the reformation that he was committed; but finding means to make his escape, he retired once more into Flanders, where he was put into an advantageous post in the custom-house at Antwerp. It is thought that his behaviour there gave great offence to several English merchants that frequented that port, which, together with the remembrance of his having acted with an high hand against the reformers in the late reign, put some persons upon thoughts of revenge; and it was not long before they drew him into a snare. Being on a certain day called upon to visit an English ship in the harbour, belonging to one Parker, who, as it appeared, had contrived his matters beforehand, he had no sooner gone on board than Parker ordered the hatches to be nailed down upon him, and hoisting sail, brought him over into England, about the beginning of the year 1570. Afterwards, being committed prisoner to the Tower, he was frequently examined, and pressed to take the oath of supremacy, which he refused with great courage and constancy, being animated thereunto by abbot Feckenham, who was

confined in the Tower at the same time. When his trial came on, several things were alleged against him,^a viz. his cruel treatment of the protestants^b in queen Mary's reign, and several treasonable speeches against the queen and government, while he resided at Antwerp : but the chief article of his indictment was his denying the queen's supremacy. In his defence he insisted very much upon his being the king of Spain's sworn servant ; and, upon that account, no longer subject to the laws of England ; but his plea was not allowed. So, stedfastly refusing to take the oath of supremacy, as he had done several times before in the Tower, he was drawn thence on a hurdle to Tyburn, June 1, 1571. He made a bold speech at the place of execution, and died, as he had lived, a zealous assertor of the faith of his ancestors. He was cut down before he was deprived of his senses ; and, as it was reported, struggled with the executioner while he was rifling among his bowels. His head was placed upon London-bridge, and his quarters upon the gates of the city. People were variously affected by his death ; some pitied him, on account of his age, being about seventy ; others looked upon his death as a piece of revenge, and unbecoming a court of judicature ; while those at the helm judged it policy to take off a person, whose

^a He was charged with high treason, for having consulted with one Prestal, a noted magician, against the queen's life ; for having conspired the death of her and the king of Scots ; *cursed her daily in his grace at meals* ; and informed the duke d'Alva's secretary, how to invade England, raise a rebellion in Ireland, and send the Scots into England. He refused to submit himself to trial, and to the laws of England ; affirming that the judges had no power over him, since he was not a sworn subject to the queen, but to the king of Spain : however, as no man can relinquish his native country, says Camden, nor abjure his prince at pleasure, he was condemned according to the ordinary form of *Nihil dicit*.

^b Touching his cruel and persecuting spirit, Fox the martyrologist gave in a memorial at his trial, accusing him of being " the chiefest cause and doer in putting most of the martyrs to death : " and " of having caused a fagot to be cast in the face of Mrs. Denley singing a psalm in the fire, saying, he had marred the fashion of an old song : " that he had " scourged Thomas Green : " that " coming from the burning of two, at the lord mayor, Mr. Curtys's table, he had said, that as he had dispatched *them*, so he trusted that within a month he should all the rest : " that " at another time, coming from the burning of Richard Gibson, and being demanded of the lord mayor what he would do if the world should alter," he said, " if he were so sick in his bed that he could not stir without hands, yet would he sit up to give sentence against an heretick, though he knew the world would turn the next day after : " that he " was sorry," as he said in the parliament house, " that they struck not at the root. In summa, that Story was worse than Boner."

parts and experience might be prejudicial to the government, in case he were permitted to live in a kingdom with which he had daily contest, and with which a war was then threatened.*

Near to the inscription of Dr. Story, is the name of "Henry Cockun,"^b who, in all probability, was the Henry Cokin of whom we find mention, as being a confidential agent of the bishop of Ross,^c and as having been apprehended, and committed to prison, immediately after that prelate was discharged from the Tower and commanded to depart the kingdom: he had perhaps been in confinement on some previous occasion.

Just below is a coat of arms,—a circle containing three stars and a fleur de lis, and underneath is the following long memorial of William Rame, dated in 1559.

BETTER IT IS TO BE IN THE HOWSE OF
MORNYNG THEN IN THE HOWSE
OF BANKETING : THE HARTE OF THE
WYSE IS IN THE MORNING HOWSE : IT IS
BETTER TO HAVE SOME CHASTENING
THEN TO HAVE OVER MOCHE LIBERTE :
THERE IS A TYME FOR ALL THINGS A TYME TO
BE BORNE AND A TYME TO DYE ANDE THE
DAYE OF DEATHE IS BETTER THEN THE
DAYE OF BERTHE : THERE IS AN ENDE OF ALL
THINGS ANDE THE ENDE OF A THINGE IS
BETER THEN THE BEGENYNG : BE WYSE AND
PATYENTE IN TROBLE FOR WYSDOME
DEFENDITH AS WELL AS MONY : VSE WELL
THE TYME OF PROSPERITE ANDE
REMEMBER THE TIME OF MYSFORTVNE
XXII. DIE APRILIS AN°. 1559.
WILLIAM RAME.

Of the prisoner who has bequeathed to us the above serious admonitions, no mention whatever is made by our historians: it is probable, however, that he was one of the many ecclesiastics, who were deprived of their benefices, and some of them committed to

* Dodd's Church History, vol. ii. p. 164.

^b This is erroneously represented by Mr. Brand, as *Henry Schun*, whom he supposes, from the name, to have been a Dutchman.

^c Camden's Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 447.

prison in the Tower* the year in which this inscription appears to have been made.

On the left hand side of the third recess is another large inscription, which is represented in the annexed plate; the words are, *T. C. I leve in hope and I gave credit to mi frinde in time did stande me moste in hande, so woulde I never do againe, excepte I hade hime suer in bande; and to al men wishe I so, unles ye svssteine the leke lose as I do.*

*Unhappie is that mane whose actes doth procuer.
The miseri of this hous in prison to induer.*

1576. *Thomas Clarke.*

On the opposite side of the same recess is a repetition of the above prisoner's name, and in another place

HIT IS THE POYNT OF A WYSE MAN TO TRY AND THEN TRVSTE
FOR HAPY IS HE WHO FYNDETH ONE THAT IS JVSTE.

T. C.

The person who made the above inscriptions, was perhaps the Thomas Clarke mentioned as a priest of the Roman Catholic religion, who afterwards became a protestant, and made his recantation sermon at Saint Paul's cross, on the first of July, 1593.^b

Below the first of these memorials are the following lines rudely cut in capitals.

THOMAS MIAGH WHICH LIETHE HERE ALONE
THAT FAYNE WOLD FROM HENS BEGON
BY TORTVRE STRAVNGE MI TROVTH WAS
TRYED YET OF MY LIBERTIE DENIED
1581 THOMAS MYAGH.

The sincerity of Thomas Miagh's wishes as expressed above, no one will be inclined to doubt: we are wholly uninformed, however, as to his character and the cause of his imprisonment. The 'torture straunge' to which he alludes, was unquestionably the rack, an instrument with which state-prisoners in that age were generally well acquainted.

Near the same place are several coats of arms and unfinished in-

* Howe's Chronicle, p. 639—40.

^b Dodd's Church History, vol. ii. p. 75.



I GAVE CREDIT TO MY FRIN
DE IN TIME DID STAND EOME
MOSTE IN HANDE SO VOVLDE
I NEVER DO A GRINE EXCEPTE
I HAD EOME SVER IN BANDE AND
TO ALL MEN VISHE IS VNLES YE
SVSSTEINE THE LEKE LOSE ME SIDO

VN HAPPIE IS THAT MANE WHOSE
ACTES DO TH PROCVER THE MISER
OF THIS HOVS IN PRISON TO INDOVER
1576 THOMAS CLARKE

IANE

ADAM: SEOBAR
ABBAS: IOREVALL

W 37

THOMAS



scriptions: one of G. Gyfford has already been noticed:^a over another is the name Robert Maleri, with the date 1558; but whether connected with it, or not, is uncertain; nor has there any account been left us of such a prisoner.

On the opposite side of the same recess are some other memorials and fragments, but, besides the name of Thomas Clarke, which has been mentioned before, the only one legible is,

1576

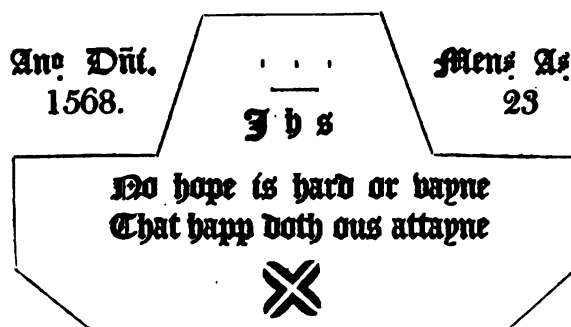
THOMAS FOVLL

concerning whom no information has hitherto been discovered.

In the same part of the room, between the two last recesses, are the following, more perfect, and some of them, more interesting, inscriptions.

The uppermost is a rude piece of sculpture by "Thomas Willyngar." It is without date, and consists of a bleeding-heart, with the letters T. W., the initials of his own name, on one side, and P. A., most likely those of his mistress, on the other: there is also a figure of death, holding a dart in the left hand, and an hour glass in the right; and, on the opposite side of the bleeding-heart, are the words *Thomas Willyngar, goldsmithe.—My hart is yours tel dethe.* No account has been preserved of this person; but it may be conjectured, from his profession, that his offence was that of clipping or counterfeiting the coin of the realm.

Below are the names "James Gilmore" and "Edwarde Smalle;" both of which are repeated in other parts of the room, but no information has been found respecting them: the name "Anthony Tuchiner," which is equally uninteresting, also occurs near the same spot; and there is likewise the following memorial:



^a See pages 147, 148.

The person who thus bewails his hopeless condition has studiously concealed his name, but the date and character, as well as his making use of the plural number, afford reasons to conjecture that it was done by one of the Poles, great-grandchildren of George, duke of Clarence, who were imprisoned here at that period, and of whom mention will be made hereafter.

Adjoining the above inscription, under the name 'Thomas Rooper,' with the date 1570, is the figure of a skeleton, recumbent; and on the right hand side are the words,

PER PASSAGE PENIBLE PASSONS A PORT PLAISANT.

This person was, probably, a descendant of the Ropers, in Kent, one of whom married Margaret, the accomplished daughter of Sir Thomas More. It is likely that he was imprisoned on account of his zealous adherence to the Roman Catholic faith, and, perhaps, banished; for, some few years afterwards, the Ropers are noticed as among the queen's enemies remaining abroad;^a and Dr. Parry, in a letter from Paris, to lord treasurer Burghley, on behalf "of some papists, fugitives," mentions Mr. John Roper and Mr. Thomas Roper, whom he recommends as well worthy his lordship's good opinion and countenance, and beseeches his lordship to take some occasion to thank them for their readiness to serve him.^b

Immediately under the inscription of Thomas Rooper is the name of

EDWARD . CVFFYN .

1562.

It is extremely probable that the crime, for which this person became a prisoner, was also his zeal for the Roman Catholic religion; but we find no account of him.^c

^a Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 648, 9.

^b Ibid. p. 649.

^c Strype, in his Annals of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 318, and Dodd, in his Church History, vol. ii. p. 416, make mention of one Edward Coffin, whom Mr. Brand supposed to be the prisoner that made this inscription; the dates and circumstances, however, clearly shew that he could not have been the same person.

The next inscription, that now remains legible, is near to the last mentioned: it consists of the following name and date.

GEFFRYE POOLE.

1562.

This, no doubt, was the Geoffrey Pole whose name is handed down to us with so much infamy, as being the person, on whose testimony his own brother, Henry Pole, viscount Montague, together with the marquis of Exeter; sir Edward Nevil, lord Bergavenny, and other persons of lesser note, were tried and condemned for high treason in the latter part of the year 1538.^a They were all accused, and committed to prison on charges of holding traitorous correspondence with cardinal Pole; and this Geoffrey, in order to save himself, was induced to furnish evidence, whereon the others, and among them his brother, were led to execution.^b The marquis, with lords Montague and Bergavenny, were beheaded on Tower-hill; Crofts and Collins, two priests, and one Holland, a mariner, were hanged and quartered at Tyborne,^c and this wretch, Geoffrey Pole, expiated his crime by perpetual imprisonment: he was confined in the Tower till his death, in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

In the same part of the room we also find the name *William Beverige*,^d with the date 1562. This, in all probability, was some Roman Catholic priest; but we can discover no account of him.

In the same part of the room, and near to the inscriptions last described, is the name

EDMONDE POOLE.

Concerning whom and his elder brother, Arthur, who pined away their lives in this 'doleful prison,' some interesting particulars are handed down to us.

During the minority of Charles the Ninth, about the year 1562, 'things in France,' says Camden, 'began to grow ripe for tumults

^a Hollinshed.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid.

^d This, and the preceding name, are repeated in other parts of the room.

and commotion; the private ambition of rival princes was cloaked on each side with the specious pretence of religion, and the protestants were treated with the greatest severity. The papists in England, on this occasion, began to whisper many things in private clubs and cabals, intimating, that the protestants here would be brought under the like restraints; and every place, in consequence, was filled with jealousy and apprehension: besides others who were put in confinement, Arthur Poole and his brother, great-grandchildren to George, duke of Clarence, brother to king Edward IV. Anthony Fortescue, who had married their sister, and others, to the number of seven in the whole, were accused of conspiring to withdraw into France to the duke of Guise, and thence to return with an army into Wales, and to proclaim the queen of Scots queen of England, and Arthur Poole, duke of Clarence; they were accordingly, by commission of Oyer and Terminer, dated the 22nd of February, in the fifth year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, arraigned upon an indictment of treason found in Surry, the force whereof followeth.

“First, it is conteyned, that the same Arthur Pole, and others named in the same indytemente, as false traytors and rebells agenste the queen’s majesty, did compasse, imagyne, and goe aboute, not onely to depryve and depose the queen, but also her death and destruction; and to sette upp and make the Scottyshe queen, queen of this realme.

And to bringe the same to passe, they conspired to raise and make insurrection and warre within this realme againste the queen.

And for the further bringing of the same to passe, they agreed amongst themselves to depart this realme into Flanders, and from thence into France.

And at their arrivall in Flanders they shoulde publish the seyd Arthur Pole to be duke of Clarence. And then should send their letters unto the queen mother, the king of Navarre, and the duke of Guyse, signifying the arrival of the duke of Clarence in Flanders, and to request ayd, acceptation, and adherence unto their sayd intents.

And to be better accepted in the sayd realme of Fraunce for the bringing of their sayd traterous intents to effecte, the seyd Arthur

Pole and his sayd complices devysed, that so soone as they came into the realme of Fraunce, they should treat with the sayd duke of Guyse, the open enemy unto the queen and her realme, for marriage between the sayd Skottyshe queen and Edmonde Pole, brother to the sayd Arthur. And to bring an army of five thousand men of the enemyes of our sayd queen, from the seyde duke of Guyse; and with the same armye, in Maye next after, to arrive in Wales, and there to proclaim the seyde Skottyshe queen to be queen of England: and afterwards from the parts of Wales to come into this realm, and to move the subjects to ryse and rebell against the queen, to make the said Skottyshe queen, queen of this realme, and to depose our sovereign ladye.

Item, that the seyde Skottyshe queen, after she hadd been so preferred to the crowne of this realme, should create the sayd Arthur Pole duke of Clarence.

Item, yt is farther founde by the sayd indytements, that after the sayd conspirators had arryved in Flanders, they wolde sende letters to one Goldewell, late Bishop of St. Asaphe, then being at Rome, to be meane to the pope, for his ayde in theis conspyracies, with promyse of restitution of relygion within this realme of England, for such his ayde and helpe.

Item, yt is founde that Prestall and Cosyn, two of the sayd conspyrators, did invoke a wicked spiryte, and demaunded of him the best waye to bring all their treasons to passe: and that Anthony Fortescue, one of the seyde conspyrators, did open unto the French ambassador and unto the Spanish ambassador, the seyde traterous devyces, by consente of the sayd Arthur Pole, and the residue of the conspyrators; with request unto both of the same ambassadors to hand their letters unto the French king, and to the seyde duke of Guyse, for their ayde in performance of the sayd treasons; declaringe unto the same ambassadors the just title of which the seyde Arthur Pole hadde to the seyde dukedom of Clarence.

Item, it is further founde, that the said Prestall and Cosyn, to the intents aforeseyd, dyd goe into the seyde parties beyond the seas; and that the seyde Anthonye Fortescue, by the consente of the seyde Arthur Pole, and the residue of the seyde conspyrators, dyd hyer a boate to be brought unto St. Olyves stayres nyghe unto London

brydge, to the intende to convey in the same the sayd Fortescue and other of the same conspyrators, being left behind after the departure of the seyde Prestall and Cosyn, unto a Flemish hoye, beinge uppon the river Thames syx myles beyonde Gravesende, to the intende to transporte the same Anthonie Fortescue, Arthur Pole, and the resydue of the conspirators left behinde, into Flaunders, to the intende to performe the seyde trayterous conspiracyes.

Item, it is further founde, that the same Arthur Pole, and other the conspirators above named, beinge left behinde in Englande, came into the sayd boate so provyded; and therein layd dyvers armures and certeyn munytyon for warre, and sommes of money, and other things necessarye for their sayd journey; and also remayned in a certen inne called the Dolphyn, for opportunitie of tyme to be conveyed by the same boate into the seyde hoye, and therein to be transported into Flaunders, to the intents aforeseyd. And hereuppon the same indytemente concludeth with this effecte uppon all theis matters aforeseyd, layd together, that the seyde conspirators dyd compasse, and ymagyne the deposinge, death, and fynall destruction of our soveraigne ladye the queen."^a

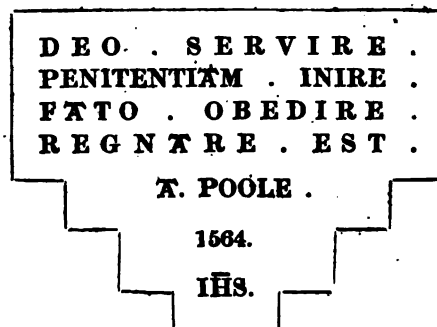
At the bar some of the parties made a full confession of their designs, but protested that they had had no intention of putting them in execution during the life of queen Elizabeth; but had rashly given credit to Prestal, a reputed conjurer, who pretended to foretel that she would not outlive that year. They were accordingly adjudged traitors, but the queen spared their lives: the two Poles, remaining in confinement, pined away the rest of their days in the Tower, and were buried in the chapel.

Arthur Poole has left, on the same side of the room, two very perfect and interesting memorials: the earliest of these, which is dated in 1564, two years after his commitment to the Tower, evinces, in an extraordinary manner, the patience and resignation with which he submitted to his melancholy fate.

This first is cut in plain capitals, inclosed with a border, as it is here represented.

^a Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 372, from the Cecil MSS.





The other, which is represented in the annexed plate, appears to have been made in 1678, being the sixth year of his captivity, and, as he informs us, the thirty-seventh of his age. The words are *Ihs. A passage perillus makethe a port pleasant. A° 1568. Arthur Poole. Æt. sue 37. A. P.*

Of Edmund Poole there are also several other inscriptions in different parts of this tower: by the side of a small window in the staircase his name occurs twice, and in the apartment over head are two large memorials in old Italian, which display the same feeling of pious submission that so beautifully characterises those of his brother. One is dated in 1562, and the other in 1568; when, as he carefully records, he had arrived at the age of twenty-seven years. The latter is greatly mutilated, but the words of the former^a are, *Ihs. Dio semin . . in lachrimis in exultatione meter.*^b *Æ. 21. E. Poole. 1562.*

Immediately under the first-mentioned inscription of Edmond Poole, is the word *IANE*,^c generally taken for the royal title of the amiable and accomplished lady Jane Grey. There was a repetition of it on a different side of the room,^d but that has been destroyed by the making of an additional window.

It has been observed,^e that “she had, perhaps, a latent meaning in this repetition of her signature *Jane*; by which she at once styled herself a queen, and intimated, that not even the horrors of a prison could force her to relinquish that title.”

Whatever is connected with the name of lady Jane Grey cannot fail to excite interest; but those who assume the character of histo-

^a See plate xviii.

^b ‘God soweth in tears to reap in joy.’

^c See plate xviii.

^d See plate xviii.

^e *Archæologia*, vol. xiii. p. 70.

rians are not justified in adopting such things for facts, which rest only on conjecture, and are unsupported even by probability. The above idea, to which the repetition of the word *Jane* has given rise, is not borne out by history, even if it were proved to have been made by the fair hand of that illustrious victim to royalty: but doubts arise on this subject, which almost amount to a contradiction of it; for, however severe might formerly have been the treatment of state delinquents, a sense of delicacy seems always to have been preserved towards the weaker sex; and when a female of distinction had the misfortune to be committed to the Tower, she was usually confined in the private house of the lieutenant, or some other respectable officer of the fortress. It is therefore highly improbable that this room could have been the place of confinement of the lady Jane; indeed we are almost certain that it was not; for, at that period, we have proof that it was the prison of some, at least, of the Dudleys; and it is hardly to be imagined that she should have been placed in the same apartment with them. There seems better reason to conjecture that these two inscriptions, instead of having been made by lady Jane Grey herself, were cut by one of the sons of the duke of Northumberland; and, supposing the unhappy Guildford to have been immured here, as were his brothers, nothing can be conceived more natural, than that he should have thus dwelt upon the name of her who was so near and dear to him; to whom he was bound by the strongest ties of affection, and whose fate was so closely interwoven with his own. We are further informed,* that on the wall of the room in which this unfortunate lady was imprisoned in the Tower, she wrote with a pin the following lines:

“ Non aliena putes homini quæ obtingere possunt,
Sors hodierna mihi, cras erit illa tibi.^b
Jane Dudley.”

The most diligent search, however, in every part of the Tower, to discover this interesting autograph, has proved fruitless; which, con-

* Fox's Book of Martyrs. Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons, vol. iv. p. 129.

^b To mortals' common fate thy mind resign,
My lot to-day, to-morrow may be thine.

sidering the lapse of years, and the very slight manner in which it must necessarily have been made, cannot be a matter of surprise.

On the left hand side of the last recess are the words, *I hope in th' end to deserve that I would have.* Men: Novem: a°. 1573. and closely underneath, in the same character, is the name, *Hugh Longworthe*, with the figure of a man recumbent.

This person does not appear to have been a prisoner, but the following particulars respecting him are not unworthy of notice. On the eleventh of October, in that year, one Peter Burchet, a frantic gentleman of the Middle Temple, taking Sir John Hawkins, the celebrated admiral, for Hatton, who was then in great favor at court, and considered an enemy to the innovators,^a he drew his dagger and wounded him. Being committed to prison and brought to trial, he maintained, that what he had done was consonant to the holy scriptures; holding, that it was lawful to kill such as opposed the truth of the gospel. "Whereupon," says Camden, "sentence of death being about to be pronounced against him for heresy, he promised to renounce his opinions; yet still shifted it off, and was therefore committed to the Tower;" where, on the morrow about noon, one of his keepers having gone down, "leaving another with him called Hugh Longworth, who stood at the window reading in the Bible, the sayd Burchet walking up and down in the chamber, took a billet's end out of the fire, and knocked the sayd Longworth on the head, and left him not till he had stryken him starke dead;"^b for which on the next day, being the eleventh of November, he was tried at Westminster and condemned; and on the morrow, after having had his right hand cut off for striking a blow within the Tower, one of the queen's palaces, was hanged without Temple Bar, near the place where he wounded Sir John Hawkins.^c

We come next to a deep piece of sculpture representing a pair of scales, with this inscription: 1585. *Thomas Bawdewin. Juli.—As vertue maketh life, so sin causeth death.* No account has been left us of such a prisoner.

Near to the above, between the last recess and the entrance to the cells, are the following words, **AS : VT : IS : TAKY. . THOMAS , FITZGERALD.**

^a Camden's Annals of Queen Eliz. in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 449. ^b Hollinshed's Chronicle. ^c Ibid.

This prisoner was eldest son to Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth earl of Kildare, and lord deputy of Ireland. His father being accused by his implacable enemy, the earl of Ossory, of having invited O'Neale, and other Irish rebels to ravage the territory of that nobleman, was commanded, in 1534, to appoint some able person to the government during his absence, and to appear before the king. He accordingly left this Thomas Fitzgerald in the execution of his office,^a and on his arrival in England was sent prisoner to the Tower. This event was no sooner known to his family, than his son rose in arms, and, joining with O'Neale, O'Carrol, and other of the Irish nobility, committed most wanton outrages. An army was dispatched into Ireland under Sir William Skiffington, in order to suppress the rebellion.^b Fitzgerald sent to the emperor for assistance; he wrote to the Pope, complaining of the king's defection from the Roman Catholic faith, and offered to hold the kingdom of Ireland of his holiness by payment of an annual tribute.^c His army was numerous in comparison to his father's popularity, and he withstood the king's forces till the middle of the following year; when, lord Leonard Grey being appointed deputy, he was prevailed upon to submit to his majesty's mercy, and accordingly conducted into England;^d where he remained prisoner for some time, and finally, on the third of February 1537, was hanged and quartered at Tyburn, together with his five uncles.^e

Near to the inscription of Thomas Fitzgerald we find the name

ADAM : SEDBAR
ABBAS : JOREVALL
1537.

This Adam Sedbar, or Sedburgh, was the eighteenth and last abbot of Joreval, Jerveaux, or Gervis, in Yorkshire.^f He was committed to the Tower for opposing king Henry the Eighth's measures; was arraigned with several others, favorers of Aske's rebellion in the

^a Herbert's *Life and Reign of king Henry VIII.* in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 181.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid.

^d Ibid. p. 182.

^e Hall and Hollinshed.

^f Willis's *History of Mitred Abbies*, p. 275. Burton's *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 373.

north; and executed at Tyburn in the month of June,^a the year of the above inscription.

In several parts of this chamber occur, in cipher, the initials I. C. and on the sides of the original window, towards the east, they are subjoined to the following memorials:

LERNE : TO
FEARE : GOD:

Æ

REPENS : LE:
STGE : ET : IL : TE:
AVMERT : Æ 1538.

Concerning the prisoner who has left us the above marks of his piety no account can be given.

On the left hand side of the window above-mentioned, under the word *Thomas*, is a great A. upon a bell,^b evidently meant for Thomas Abel; who, on the authority of Dodd,^c was educated at Oxford, where he completed his degrees in arts, in the year 1516, and, proceeding in divinity, became a doctor of that faculty. He was a man of learning; a great master of instrumental music; and well skilled in the modern languages. These qualifications introduced him at court, and he became domestic chaplain to queen Catherine of Arragon, wife of king Henry VIII., and had the honour of serving her majesty in the capacities above mentioned. When the validity of the marriage between Henry and Catherine became a question, the affection which Dr. Abel bore towards his mistress led him into the controversies to which it gave rise, and he opposed the divorce both by words and writings.^d By giving in to the delusions of Elizabeth Barton, called the Holy Maid of Kent,^e he incurred a misprision; and afterwards was condemned and executed in Smithfield, July 30, 1540, together with Dr. Edward Powel and Dr. Richard Fetherstone, for denying the king's supremacy, and affirming his marriage with queen Catherine to be good.^f

Just below this punning rebus of Thomas Abel is the following undated inscription:

^a Ibid. Hall, Stow, and Hollinshed's Chronicles.

^b See plate xix.

^c Church History, vol. i. p. 208.

^d Hall's Chronicle, and Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. i. p. 224.—He wrote a book entitled, "Tractatus de non desolvendo Henrici et Catherinæ matrimonio," 1534.

^e Hall's Chronicle.

^f Ibid. and Hollinshed.

DOCTOR :
COOK :

There can be little doubt but that this Doctor Cook, was Lawrence Cook, prior of Doncaster, of whom we find mention as having been, with five others, attainted by parliament for their denial of the king's supremacy, and accordingly hanged and quartered at Tyburn in 1540.^a

Close to the two last-mentioned carvings occurs the name of *Thomas Cobham*, with the date 1555. He was the youngest son of lord Cobham, and one of the principal leaders in the insurrection of sir Thomas Wyatt, with whom he was committed to the Tower on the seventh of February, 1554;^b and on the nineteenth of the same month, being brought to trial with four others, at Westminster, was condemned.^c

On the opposite of the same window is a large cluster of inscriptions, coats of arms, &c. The uppermost is a panel containing the words,

O MISER HVON CHE PENSI OD ESSERO.

This appears to have been left unfinished. Below is the name *John Marten*, with a coat of arms and an illegible inscription underneath; and next occurs a large square mass, consisting of the following name and memorials.

IHON SEYMOR
CCHOWT . 1537.

The first of these prisoners was, perhaps, the John Seymour who was arrested and committed to the Tower, with the duke of Somerset and several others, on the 16th of October, 1551.^d

The duke was beheaded on Tower Hill the 22d of January in the following year; soon afterwards sir Ralph Vane and sir Miles

^a Stow's Annals, and Dodd's Church History, vol. i. p. 231.

^b Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. iv. p. 141.

^c Hollinshed.

^d Sir John Hayward's Life and Reign of King Edward VI. in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 321.

Partridge were hanged, and sir Michael Stanhope and sir Thomas Arundel beheaded, in the same place.^a It is likely that John Seymour and the rest of the prisoners were pardoned, as no mention is made of their execution. With regard to the latter, no information has been discovered, but the date favours the opinion that he was some person implicated in Aske's rebellion.

Adjoining these names is a coat of arms; and further on are the words *Lancaster Herald*, two crosses, and the name *Francis Eul*; of which no account can be given. There are also the names *Thomas Steven*, and *James Rogers*, which are equally uninteresting.

Next to the above is a piece of carving which represents an oak tree, bearing acorns; and underneath are the initials R. D., which, in all probability, are those of Robert, second surviving son of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland. He was confined in the Tower for the part he took with his father and others in the attempted usurpation of lady Jane Grey, and, being arraigned of high treason in the guild hall of London, confessed the indictment, and had judgment given by the earl of Sussex, to be drawn, hanged, bowelled, and quartered;^b but, after remaining some time in prison, was pardoned, and early in the following reign created earl of Leicester; in which character, and as the celebrated favorite of Queen Elizabeth, he is too well known to require here a detail of his extraordinary career.

VERBVM DOMINI MANET.

1568

JOHN PRINE.

The date, as well as the words of this inscription, renders it highly probable, that the person who made it was some priest of the Roman Catholic communion; but we find no account of him.



This Ingram, or sir Ingram Percy, was third son of Henry, the

^a Hollinshed, and Hayward, ut supra, p. 325.

^b Stow's Annals, by Howes, p. 618.

fifth earl of Northumberland. There is every reason to believe that he was implicated in the northern rebellion; for which his brother, sir Thomas Percy, knight, was executed, with several others, at Tyburn, in the month of June, 1537.^a He appears to have been pardoned, and to have died about the latter end of the following year.

Adjoining the above inscription is an oak sprig with acorns, and below are the words

SPERNDO MI GODERO
1537.

This, too, was probably made by some person who had been concerned in Aske's rebellion: subjoined to it is a cipher, but it is unintelligible.

EN DIE V EST MON ESPERANCE F. PAGE
--

We are told, that 'Francis Page, after spending some time in studying the municipal laws in England, went abroad, and, being ordained priest, returned as a missionary into his own country. He resided, for the most part, with Mrs. Anne Line, a widow gentlewoman; and being at last seized, and condemned to die, for receiving orders, he was executed at Tyburn in the year 1601. He insisted at his trial, that being a reputed alien, born at Antwerp, the law did not reach him. But, not being able to produce his proofs immediately, his plea was over-ruled; though it was looked upon to be a great hardship that he had not time allowed him to make good his allegation. Mrs. Line was also prosecuted, and suffered death for entertaining him. Alegambe gives Mr. Page a place in his catalogue, but I do not find that he was ever admitted among the Jesuits: neither indeed, does Alegambe affirm it.'^b

FRANCIS OWDAL
1541.

Respecting this person no particulars have hitherto been discovered.

^a Hall, Stow, and Hollinshed's Chronicles.

^b Dodd's Church History, vol. ii. p. 112.

Just below is the name of *George Ardern*, which is likewise uninteresting.

RAVLFE BVLMTX. 1537.

We find no mention of this prisoner; but it is extremely probable that he was of the ancient and respectable family of that name in the northern parts of England, and imprisoned, perhaps, on suspicion of being concerned in Ake's rebellion; a conjecture which is not only supported by the date, but also by the circumstance of Sir John Bulmer being one of the leaders in that insurrection, for which he was committed to the Tower, together with his wife or paramour, and many others, all of whom were tried, found guilty of high treason, and executed.^a

JOHN COLLETON · PRIST ·
1581 · IVLY · 22.

John Colleton, or Collington, on the authority of Dodd,^b was son of Edmund Colleton, gent., and born at Milverton, in Somersetshire. In 1565, when about seventeen years of age, he was sent to the university of Oxford, and had a good character, both for his learning and prudent behaviour during his stay there, which was but a few years; for, when about twenty-three years old, he left the university, his friends, and native country, on account of his religion, being unable to answer the exceptions some of his fellow-students had taken against the reformation. Retiring to Lovain, he entertained thoughts of entirely forsaking the world, and becoming a Carthusian; and, being encouraged in this good resolution by father Cullum, an English Jesuit then residing in Lovain, he entered into the noviceship, and remained upon his trial eleven months; but a constant ill state of health, and a melancholy disposition, not suitable to that order, rendered him incapable of proceeding further. Upon this disappointment he went to the English college at Douay, where he was admitted in 1574; and having before made considerable progress in the study of divinity, was ordained priest, and sent upon the mission in 1576. On his arrival in England, he paid his first visit to

^a Hall and Hollinshed.

^b Church History, vol. ii. p. 183.

his father in Somersetshire, "a grave old gentleman," says Dodd, "greatly esteemed in his neighbourhood for his prudence, charity, and usefulness, in all the requisites of a social life; and left him not till he had reconciled him again to the Catholic church, whereof he had been a member, before there were any thoughts of a reformation." He then laboured upon the mission in several parts of the kingdom till 1581, when he was taken prisoner, arraigned, and tried at the same time with Campian and others, for conspiring abroad against the queen and government. Although the same evidence appeared against him as that on which the rest were found guilty, Mr. Colleton happened to be acquitted upon a manifest inconsistency as to time and place. The indictment specified that he, Campian, and the rest, had concerted an invasion, and machinated the queen's death by a conspiracy carried on at Rheims and Rome, in such a year; but by the evidence of Mr. Lancaster, a gentleman of character, it was shewn to the court, that Colleton was actually in England at the time mentioned in the indictment; and it was moreover proved that he had neither been at Rheims nor at Rome in his whole life. Notwithstanding this blunder in the queen's evidence, he was not discharged, but detained prisoner in the Tower till 1584; when he was sent into banishment with several others of the same character. In 1587 he returned into England, and lived chiefly in London and Kent. He was afterwards made archdeacon, and on the death of Birket the archpriest, supplied his place till the nomination of Dr. Harrison.

In 1610, all the prisons in and about London were filled with priests and recusants, on account of the oath of allegiance, and Mr. Colleton was again in confinement. When the bishop Chalcedon came into this country, in 1623, and erected a chapter, he was made dean, and appointed his lordship's vicar-general. The latter part of his days he lived altogether with Mr. Roper, at Eltham, in Kent; where he died in 1635, aged 87 years. His candid behaviour and long experience had gained him great esteem, not only among his brethren, but also with the moderate part of the established church: even king James the First depended very much upon his sincerity in matters relating to the catholics. He shewed great resolution, and was indefatigable in opposing the schemes of father Parsons, which,

he thought, aimed at depressing the clergy, and making them subject to the Jesuits. He was author of the following works—"A just Defence of the slandered Priests," &c. 4to. 1602.—"A supplication to his Majesty for a Toleration,"—and "A Letter to Pope Paul V."

The following inscription now only remains to finish the account of this interesting chamber :

<p>EAGREMOND · RADCLYFFE :</p> <p>1576.</p> <p>POVR · PARVENIR ·</p>
--

Eagremond, or Egremont Radclyffe, was only son of Henry Radcliffe, second earl of Sussex, by his second wife Anne, daughter of sir Philip Calthorpe, of Norwich, knight. He was brother of the half blood to Thomas and Henry Radcliffe, successively earls of Sussex, and of the whole blood to lady Frances Radclyffe, married to sir Thomas Mildmay, knight, whose posterity in her right succeeded to the ancient barony of Fitzwalter, in the reign of king Charles the Second. Being young, of a haughty spirit, and a papist, he was engaged in the rebellion in the north, in 1569; and, consequently, fled into Spain, and thence to Flanders, where he continued rambling about for several years, reduced to the last extremities of want and wretchedness. At length depressed by poverty, worn out by sorrow, and desirous of returning to his native country, he ventured to address a letter* to lord treasurer Burghley, imploring his lordship to intercede with the queen for her most gracious pardon; attributing his offence to youthful heat and ignorance, and not to any malice. His half brother, the earl of Sussex, then lord chamberlain of queen Elizabeth's household, seems to have borne an implacable hatred towards him, and was, probably, the cause of most of his after-sufferings. To gain his reconciliation he also besought lord Burghley, 'even for God's sake, to intercede; for that, if the earl continued his indignation towards him, he knew it would be his destruction.'

* Dated from Antwerp, in 1574.—See Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 497.

Little benefit appears to have resulted from this letter ; for, about six months afterwards, we find the unhappy fugitive renewing his solicitation to his lordship from Bruges.^a—‘ Not daring,’ as he says, ‘ to presume to write to her majesty, he was emboldened by his lordship’s virtuous inclinations, to move him to stand his good lord, in being a means to her majesty for him, that it might please her, of her accustomed clemency, to pardon his faults, by which, through ignorance of youth and not of malice, as God was his judge, he had offended ; and which, riper understanding and further grace did cause him to be most heartily sorry for. Prostrate at her majesty’s feet he humbly craved forgiveness ; hoping she would follow the precepts of our Saviour Christ, who willeth no pardon to be refused him, who with humility and repentance asketh it ; for which most gracious benefit, he promised to God and to her majesty, his life should be ever ready to be yielded in any service in which it should please her to employ him ; as well to repair his former fault, as also to win of her majesty a degree of credit. And he hoped that these few years of tribulation had taught him to know good from evil, and increased his ability to serve his prince and country ; which, above all things, he most desired.’

^a It should seem that his lordship’s reply to this petition afforded him some reason to anticipate a termination of his miseries ; for in his next letter, which is dated from Calais, March 25, 1575,^b he acknowledges ‘ that if small benefits did bind good natures, how much ought he to think himself bound to his lordship ; since, by his only friendship, he had recovered grace at her majesty’s hands, and good liking of the earl, his brother, which he esteemed more than life ; as he trusted sufficiently to testify by his faithful service in all it should please her majesty to employ him in. And that undoubtedly his lordship might assure himself of his service during life, with no less fidelity and affection than if he were his own child. He besought his lordship to continue his favor, and to prevail upon his brother to support him with sufficient maintenance until such time as it should please her majesty to licence his return ; and, lest he should offend, he also craved of his lordship, that he might have some place appointed where he might serve, and if it should not

^a Ibid. p. 497-8.

^b See Strype’s *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 498.

displease her majesty he would gladly go against the Turk, where he thought he should see best service. And he trusted that his endeavours should be such, as neither the queen, his brother, nor his lordship, should mislike them.'

Soon after this, buoyed up with hope and impatient to revisit his native land, he ventured to cross over into England with a merchant,^a and repaired to lord Burghley, in order to his lordship's recommending him to the queen; but her majesty understanding his coming and request, shewed herself displeased, and ordered secretary Walsingham to tell lord Burghley, 'That he should, as of himself, advise Radcliff to slip away; for that he understood secretly from his friends in court, that her majesty was greatly displeased with his presumptuous manner of coming over, and that otherwise he doubted, that her majesty, as in justice she was bound, would be driven, for example's sake, to extend the punishment towards him that was due for his former offences. And as she was doubtful of his lingering in the realm, whatsoever promises his lordship had made him, her pleasure was that he should so order the matter, that Reins, the merchant with whom he came over, should see him embarked; whereby she might be assured of his departure;^b but not taking this seasonable warning, he was apprehended and committed to the Tower;^c whence we find two more letters from him addressed to the lord treasurer; the first of these, which is dated in April 1577, speaks of his miserable state and long imprisonment; praying his lordship, of his accustomed goodness and consideration towards him, to understand the extremity he was in; and that he doubted not but God would so work in his noble heart, that he should find by some suit made to her majesty in his behalf, a remedy of his sorrows, wherein he pined and consumed, as one weary of life and utterly void of consolation. For that in truth he had done all which in him lay to manifest unto the world both his hearty remorse and contrition for his offence, and also his dutiful and earnest desire to recover her majesty's favor; yet perceiving her indignation, and his brother's to continue still more heavily against him, he was driven to great despair, lest he should consume in captivity those

^a Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 498.

^b *Ibid.* p. 499.

^c *Ibid.*

days, which he desired, as became the duty of a faithful subject, to employ to the last of his breath in her majesty's service. He professed to God that he rather wished, with all his heart, present death, than any longer continuance in such misery; and most humbly implored, for God's sake, that her majesty would command him rather to be executed, than to let him live in such torment of body and mind as he was then in: but, if the clemency of her Highness would not suffer her to have the law pass upon him, then he humbly besought her to grant him some further liberty, that he might have opportunity to obtain remission and her royal favor. He professed to lord Burghley that he had no power to compass this benefit except by the favor and aid of his lordship; to whom he was so much bound, as he knew not how he might ever be able dutifully to acknowledge the least part of his noble dealings towards him; howbeit his lordship should always find him so grateful, as the expense of his poor life might enable him in any service it should ever please his honor to command him. And thus once again he was bold humbly to beseech his lordship to deal for him, and to send him such answer as should stand with her majesty's pleasure; that through her mercy and justice he might be delivered from the desperation, which, as the Almighty knew, afflicted his very soul.'

In answer to this letter he appears to have received a verbal communication, signifying that the queen was inexorable, and would grant him no other favor, than that he might depart the realm. In reply to this message he addressed his second and last letter* from his prison to the lord treasurer, acknowledging 'that he was given to understand from his honor by the bearer, Mr. Gray, how it pleased his lordship to move the queen in his behalf; for which, and a number of other favors, he rendered his most humble thanks. The effect of her majesty's decision being, that it was not her pleasure ever to employ him in her service, or to grant him pardon, but that he should be dismissed the realm; he protested before God and the world, that nothing caused him to yield to her majesty's mercy, but a just remorse for the offences of his ignorant youth, and a dutiful desire to repair them by all loyal obedience during the residue of his life; which humble submission, if it did not stand with the queen's plea-

* Dated from the Tower, May 6, 1577.—See Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 496.

sure to accept, he, as became an humble vassal, should be contented with whatsoever it might please her majesty and her grave council to ordain concerning him; so that it might please her majesty to take compassion on his poor afflicted soul, in delivering it from desperation: for no death could be so bitter, but that he would rather suffer it, than to remain in his present torment of mind. To find his soul in his sovereign's indignation; in no assurance of life; often threatened to be banished his country; forsaken of all his friends; a close prisoner; an occasion to the ill-disposed to blaspheme against her majesty's and her council's mercy; a laughing-stock to all those that are become his enemies, for the great desire he has always had to recover her majesty's favor and his country; and, in conclusion, void of all comfort and relief, he sums up as the grievous catalogue of miseries which continually assault him: wherefore he again most humbly besought his lordship, that, for pity's sake, it would please him to impart to her majesty and the council this his wretched state, and to procure that there might be some speedy order taken for him; wherein his honor, as the Almighty knew, would do a work of the greatest charity.'

The result of this letter was an annihilation of all the hopes, a consummation of the misfortunes, and a prelude to the tragical end "of this penitent rebel, but of a turbulent spirit, Egremont Radclyffe."

Being banished the kingdom he returned into Flanders, and, from necessity, perhaps, entered the service of Don John of Austria, the governor of that country: but such was his evil fate, that soon afterwards an accusation was brought against him of having conspired Don John's death, with the concurrence of secretary Walsingham, who, as it was pretended, had set him at liberty for that purpose. He was taken in the camp before Namur, and executed by order of the emperor; although he protested his innocence to the last.

During his imprisonment in the Tower he occupied himself in translating from the French, a small work, entitled, "*Politique Discourses*,"^a which he dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, prin-

^a "*Politique Discourses, treating of the Differences and Inequalities of Vocations, as well Publique as Private, with the Scopes or Endes whereunto they are directed; translated out of French, by Egremont Ratcliffe, Esquire. Imprinted at London for Edward Aggas, 1578.*"

cial secretary of state, probably out of gratitude for his exertions in his behalf. He married, at an early age, Eleanor, only daughter of Sir Edward Darrell, of Littlecote, knight, and sole heir of her brother William Darrell, esquire; but left no issue.

In the apartment which forms the basement floor of this tower, and which is now used as a kitchen, there are also traces of several inscriptions, left on the walls by prisoners; but most of them have been rendered illegible by the frequent white-washing of the room. The name of Charles Bailly, a prisoner already noticed, occurs subscribed to one memorial; and the following lines, without name or date, were, till lately, to be made out:

THE MAN WHOM THIS HOUSE CAN NOT MEND
HATHE EVILL BECOOM AND WORSE WILL END.

The uppermost story of the Beauchamp Tower has likewise been used as a prison. It consists of one gloomy apartment, retaining much of its original character, and in some degree assimilating in form and dimensions to that immediately under it. The floor, which appears to be very ancient, coeval, perhaps, with the building itself, is formed of thick oak plank, in a rough state, and fastened down with nails of an extraordinary size. It has but one small window, which fronts the inner ward, and is secured by strong iron grating on the outside.

Although this apartment has been plastered and white-washed, some memorials of prisoners are still to be seen on the walls. One on the left hand side of the window remains in a very perfect state, and is represented in the annexed plate. It consists of a crest formed of three salmons; the date 1622; and a coat of arms surmounted by the name "T. Salmon," with the motto, *Nec timere nec timore*, underneath. There is also a star containing an abbreviation of the name of Christ, in Greek, encircled with the words *Sic vive ut vivas*, and death's head, surrounded by the sentence, *Et morire ne moriaris*.—It is probable that this was made by some adherent to the Roman Catholic communion, but we find no account of him. Over the carving above described, he has thus recorded the tedious period of his confinement—*Close prisoner 8 monethes—32 wekes—224 dayes—5376 heures*.



Drawn by F. Nash.

Engraved by J. Ewe.

EXPLANATION OF THE TABLET OF THE

TABLET OF THE

Printed by M. J. Jones & Co.

London: Published March 6, 1821 by T. Cadell in the Strand.

On the opposite side of the window is an inscription of "Edmund Poole," who, as it should seem, was imprisoned here, whilst his brother was confined in the chamber below. This is represented in a preceding plate, and has already been noticed, together with another memorial of the same illustrious sufferer in a different part of the room.^a

There is a tradition that this uppermost apartment in the Beauchamp Tower was the place of confinement of the ill-fated Anne Boleyn, but it appears from historical facts to be entirely void of foundation. In a letter from sir William Kingston, lieutenant of the Tower, to secretary Cromwell,^b soon after that unfortunate queen's commitment to prison, he says, "Thys ys to advertyse you that upon my lord of Norfolk's & the kyng's coñsell departyng from the Towre, I went before the quene in to hyr logyng, & she sayd unto me, M^r Kyngston shall I go into a dungyn? Noo madam you shall go into your logyng that you lay in at your coronacion." And afterwards, speaking of a charge which he was to give to the gentlewomen who were appointed to attend upon her majesty, "that ys to say, that thay shuld have no coñynycasion with hyr in lese my wyf ware present," he says, "I dyd it, notwithstanding it cannot be so; for, my lady Bolen and mestrys Cofyn lyes on the quene's palet, and I and my wyf at the dore with yowt, so that thay most nedes talke that be within; bot I have every thyng told me by mestrys Cofyn that she thynkes met for me to know; and tother ii gentlewomen lyes with yowt me."—From this, and another letter,^c in which he says that, "the quene hathe meche desyred to have here in the closet the sacrament," it is clearly shewn that this could not have been the prison of that unhappy queen, and moreover places it beyond a doubt that she must have been confined either in some apartment of the palace, or in the lieutenant's house.^d

Written on the wall at the top of the Beauchamp Tower, lately existed the following lines; which, although neither rendered valuable by their antiquity, nor by any thing worthy of remembrance in

^a See plate xviii.

^b MSS. in Bibl. Cotton. Otho. c. x. p. 225.

^c Ibid. p. 224.

^d A more ample account of the unfortunate queen, Anne Boleyn, and of her imprisonment and execution in the Tower, will appear in the second part of this work.

their author, may not be improperly introduced by way of concluding the description of this interesting building.

EPITAPH ON A GOLDFINCH.

" Where Raleigh pin'd, within a prison's gloom,
I chearful sung, nor murmur'd at my doom ;
Where heroes bold, and patriots firm could dwell,
A goldfinch in content his note might swell :
But death, more gentle than the law's decree,
Hath paid my ransom from captivity.

Buried June 23, 1794, by a fellow-
prisoner in the Tower of London."

EPITAPH ON A CAT, NAMED CITIZEN,

BURIED IN THE TOWER WALL.

1.

If led by fancy o'er this seat of woe
In search of relics hid within these walls,
Thy eye, kind reader, thou shouldst chance to throw
On the small spot where my poor dwelling falls.

2.

Think not, within this cell there is compest,
Ought which the world could envy, or could fear ;
Nor stars, nor ribbands deck'd my honest breast,
An humble citizen lies buried here.

3.

A friend that could my lowly talents prize,
(At his fond kindness, reader, do not laugh)
Sooth'd my last moments, closed my dying eyes ;
Dug here my grave, and wrote my epitaph.

4.

But lest these lines thy fancy should deceive,
And thou shouldst think some patriot claims a tear,
Thy rising anguish let me now relieve,
'Tis only Puss the citizen lies here.

I. A. B. Aug. 22, 1794.

The above verses were written, perhaps, by John Augustus Bonney, whose initials are subscribed to the last of them. He was a person committed to the Tower in 1794, together with John Horne Tooke, John Thelwall, and some others of low character, on charges of high treason.

Leaving the Beauchamp Tower, we continue the course of the ancient wall to the north-east angle of the inner ward, which is at the distance of one hundred and twenty-six feet, and is the situation of another tower, denominated

THE DEVEREUX TOWER.

In the survey taken of the fortress in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, this building is called "Robyn the Devyll's Tower," and in that of 1597, the "Develin Tower;" a name which it soon afterwards changed for its present appellation, in consequence of Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, the celebrated favorite of queen Elizabeth, having been confined in it in the year 1601.

The style of architecture observable in this building differs from that of the Beauchamp Tower: it is less pointed, and seems to be a work of an earlier date. It retains, for the most part, its original character, having undergone little or no alteration, except in the enlargement and modernising of the windows. In form it approaches almost to a circle, and consists of two stories, with one apartment on each, ascended by a small winding staircase of stone. The basement floor, which is vaulted and groined, is about nineteen feet in diameter, and the walls, in which there are some peculiar features of construction,* are eleven in thickness.

The Devereux Tower, like most of the others, was formerly used as a prison for state delinquents, and it still retains much of that appearance: the iron grating over the doors and in the windows, is yet to be seen in some parts of the building, and from the staircase, between the basement and the first floors, there is an entrance to a small cell, about six feet long, and three wide, made in the thickness of the ballium wall; and, higher up, is a similar entrance to what appears to have been another cell, or a passage in the substance of the wall, forming a secret communication with the next tower.

Some years ago, under part of the stair in this building, were

* It should seem that this building was partly constructed with the remains of a far more ancient work; a portion, perhaps, of the old city wall: for between the courses of stone there are inserted, in several places, pieces of tile; and the materials altogether, near the base, bear a strong resemblance to those observable in a fine remnant of the old civic enclosure, which is still extant on Tower-hill.

discovered two ancient and very curious snuff boxes, which were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1797,^a by colonel Matthew Smith, then resident governor of the Tower. They were of an oval shape, with small screw tops, and in one of them remained the spoon: rude representations of stag-hunting, bull-baiting, and other sports, appeared on them, and one bore two inscriptions in barbarous French, of which one could not be made out, but the other seemed to be, *DONEVR EVX QVI IY RCVRAIRE AVTANT.*

This building now belongs to the Office of Ordnance, and is the residence of the Master-Furbisher of small arms.

From the Devereux Tower the ancient enclosure wall runs in a north-easterly direction to the distance of ninety feet, where it was studded with another fortification called

THE FLINT TOWER.

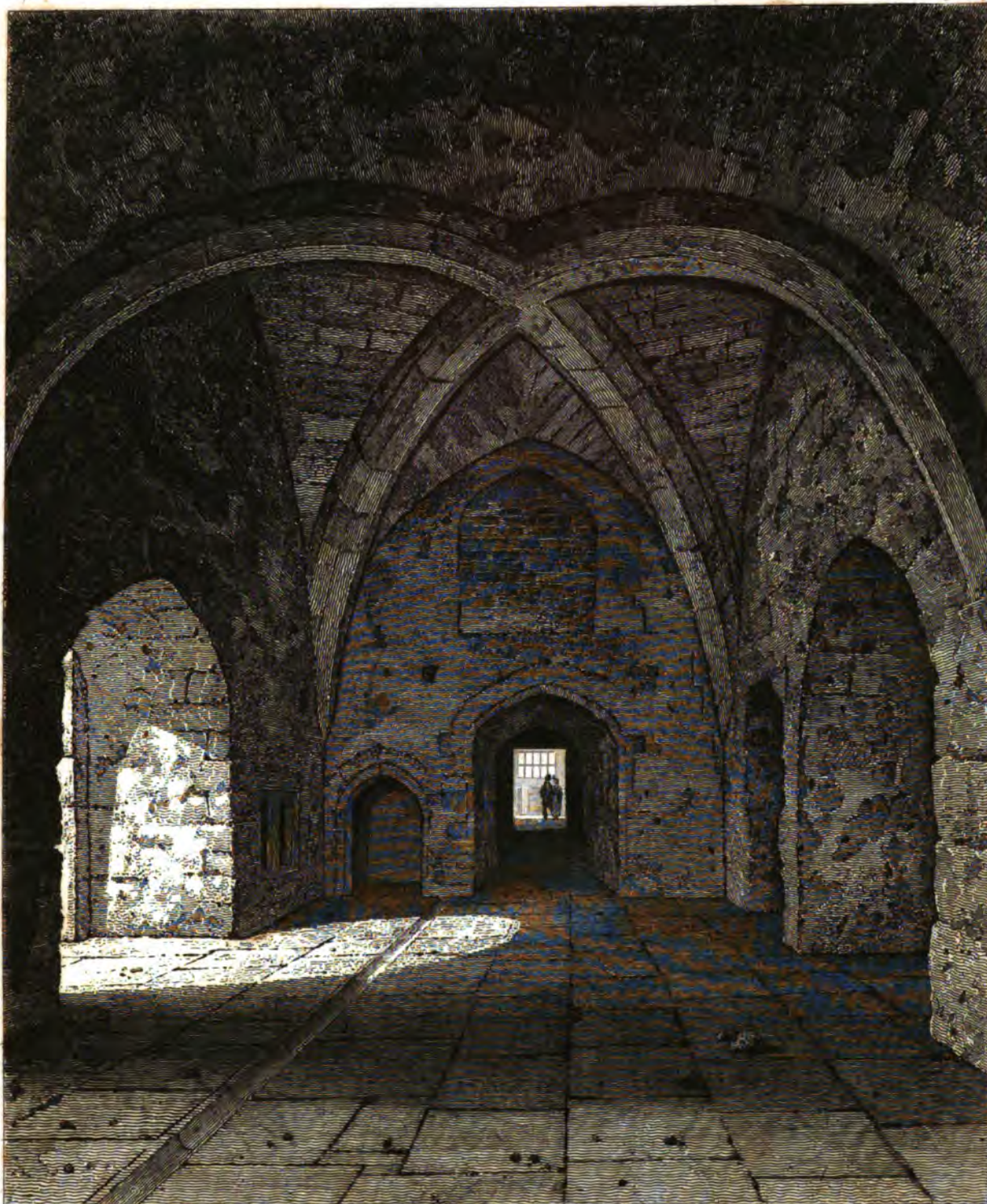
Of this building there are now no other remains than the foundation: it appears, however, to have closely assimilated, both in form and dimensions, to the rest of the towers which fortify the inner ward, and in early times was appropriated to the same purpose. Having fallen greatly into decay, about twenty years ago it was taken down, nearly to the ground, by order of the Board of Ordnance, and a plain brick structure of a similar form has since been erected in its place.

Proceeding to the distance of ninety feet further in the same direction, we come to the remains of another tower, entitled

THE BOWYER'S TOWER.

This building took its name from having, in early times, been the residence of the master and provider of the king's bows; an officer of whom mention will be made hereafter. The basement floor, which is the only part now extant of the original building, is represented in the annexed plate: it is vaulted and groined, and in the walls, which are about ten feet thick, are three recesses, in each of which was anciently a narrow embrasure; but these have been considerably enlarged and modernised. By the side of the present

^a Vide *Archæologia*, vol. xiii. plate xxiv. and page 395.



Drawn & Engraved by F. Nash.

MEMORIAL OF THE TOWER OF LONDON

Printed by M. J. Green, 25, St. Paul's Churchyard, Strand.

London, Published March 6, 1851, by T. Agnew & Sons, Strand.

door-way is an entrance to a small cell formed in the substance of the wall ; or, perhaps, what may have formerly been a secret passage leading to the next tower.

There is a tradition that in this room George, duke of Clarence, brother to king Edward the Fourth, was secretly put to death, as it is said, in a butt of malmsey ; and if the perpetrators of that foul deed considered it necessary to choose a spot more dismal and secluded than another, for the scene of such a tragedy, the story derives a probability from the situation and character of the place in question ; but it is unsupported by any historical evidence.*

The upper part of this building is of modern brick work, and the basement floor is now used as a repository of old armour ; of which there are some curious specimens, brought from Malta.

From the Bowyer's Tower the enclosure wall of the inner ward declines rather to the south-east, and, at the distance of fifty-four feet, is fortified with a tower, denominated

THE BRICK TOWER.

In the survey before mentioned, which was taken of the Tower in 1532, this building is stated to be the lodging of the master of the Ordnance, and as such it was described in the year 1641.^b The ground floor, which is the only part that exists of the original work, corresponds with that of the building last described ; and from here there appears to have been a secret communication with the next tower, eastward. The upper part, which is of brick, seems to have been built as early as the reign of king Edward IV., or Richard III., and the interior exhibits remains of old-fashioned magnificence ; but it is now altogether in a state of decay.

From the Brick Tower we proceed forty-seven feet further, which brings us to the north-east angle of the enclosure which is occupied by

THE JEWEL TOWER.

This building seems originally to have nearly corresponded, in form and extent, with the Devereux Tower ; but little now remains of the primitive structure, except the part which faces the inner

* See page 62.

^b Harleian MSS. in Mus. Brit. N°. 1326.

ward; the rest being of comparatively modern brickwork. In the ancient part, the roof of the ground floor is vaulted and groined in the elegant style of architecture that prevailed in the reign of king Henry the Third; and on the left hand side of the entrance is a small cell, formed in the substance of the wall; the circular stone staircase also exists, and, till lately, there were to be seen some coats of arms and fragments of inscriptions, which had been left on the walls by prisoners; but these have been obscured by recent alterations in the apartments.

This tower, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, was designated the Martin Tower, and in the year 1641, was known by that appellation, and described as a prison-lodging; but it soon afterwards assumed its present name, from having been made the repository of the royal jewels and plate, which had previously been kept in a small building on the south side of the White Tower.

In very early times, the jewels and other ensigns of royalty, were sometimes placed, for security, within the walls of religious houses,* but most generally in the treasury of the Temple; and it was not, perhaps, before the reign of king Henry the Third that they were deposited in the Tower of London.

When the king went abroad, his crown and other ornaments of majesty usually accompanied him;^b and on the return of Henry the Third from France, in 1230, he commanded the bishop of Carlisle^c to replace the jewels in the Tower as they had been before; which is the first mention we find of their being kept there.

In the year 1204, we have an account of jewels which were taken to Reading by the master and almoner of the New Temple, and delivered to king John,^d preparatory to his celebrating the feast of

* Rot. Pat. de anno 6to. Regis Johannis. m. 4. N°. 9.—Ibid. 17. Joh. m. 19. in Turr. Lond.

^b Rot. Pat. 15 Joh. m. 3. N°. 7.—Ibid. 16 Joh. p. 2. m. 8. ^c Rot. Claus. 14 Hen. III. m. 23.

^d Rex &c. omnibus &c. Sciatis quod die Lune proxima ante Natale Domini anno regni nostri vj^{to} apud Rading' per manum fratris Alani preceptoris Novi Templi London' & fratris Rogeri elemosinarii, recepimus coronam nostram auream factam apud London'; mantell' de samitto vermeill' fretatum cum saphiris & kathmath' & perlis, cum uno firmaculo an' insuto; dalmaticam de eodem samitto; urlatam de orfreis & cum lapidibus; tunicam de diaspro albo; unum pannum sericum quadratum ad sedem regiam; sandalia & soculares de prædicto samitto, bondatos de orfreis; baldredum de eodem samitto cum kathmath' & aliis lapidibus; & cyrotecas albas cum uno saphiro & una amatista; et gladium qui factus fuit ad coronationem nostram

Christmas in that town. This unhappy monarch appears to have found it less difficult to procure the ensigns of royalty than it was to enjoy those he already possessed: in the ninth year of his reign he received a large crown, and other precious articles, from Germany,* which seem to have been of the most splendid description.

During the troubles which embittered the latter part of the reign of king Henry the Third he conveyed his plate and jewels abroad, and confided them to the care of Margaret, queen of France.^b They were laid up in the Temple at Paris,^c and afterwards pledged to certain merchants of that nation, in order to raise money for the maintenance of his royal estate, in the necessities to which he was

cum scabberg' de orfreis. Item duas zonas cum esmalp, & iiij^{or} as cum membris aureis, & unam magnam cum granatis et saphiris et perlis. Item, unum firmaculum cum rubeis; unum firmaculum cum smaragdinibus & rubis quod episcopus Norewic' dedit nobis; unum firmaculum cum saphiris de opere London. Item, unum firmaculum cum saphiris. Item, unum firmaculum cum iiij^{or} smaragdinibus & iiij^{or} baleis. Item, unum firmaculum cum ix. bonis saphiris. Item, unum firmaculum cum ij. saphiris, ij. smaragdinibus, & ij. baleis. Item, unum firmaculum cum iij. smaragdinibus, iij. saphiris, & iij. baleis. Item, unum firmaculum cum iiij^{or} smaragdinibus, iiij^{or} saphiris & iiij^{or} bal' & j turkeis' in hardillone. Item, unum firmaculum cum ij. saphiris & j topac', & cum grossis perlis & minutis saphiris. Item, unum firmaculum cum saphiris quod camerarius nobis dedit. Item, unum firmaculum cum iiij. bal' & iij. smaragdinibus. Item, unum firmaculum cum iij. smaragdinibus & iij. saphiris, & j turkeis' & minutis perlis & parvis rubis. Item, unum baculum cum x. saphiris grossis. Item, unum baculum cum xxvij. diamant'. Item, unum baculum, cum lx. smaragdinibus. Item, unum baculum, cum lvij. smaragdinibus. Item, unum baculum cum vij. topac' bonis, & j. lapide qui ignoratur. Item, unum baculum cum ix. turkeis'. Item, unum baculum cum xiiij. saphiris bonis in caston'. Item, ij. magna pectina aur' cum diversis lapidibus, ponderantes ij. marc'. vj. unc' & dimid'. Et ideo volumus quod magister Templi & fratres Templi de omnibus suprascriptis quieti sint; et in hujus rei testimonium &c. Teste G. fil' Petri com' Essex' apud Rading' xvij. die Dec'.—Rot. Pat. 6. Joh. m. 6. dors' in Turr. Lond.

^a Rex omnibus &c. Sciatis quod recepimus sabbato proximo post festum sancti Nicholai apud Clarendon' anno regni nostri ix^o. per manus Hug' de Roppell' & Rad' de Riparia & Johannis Ruffi, hominum Roberti de Roppell', magnam coronam, quæ venit de Alemanniâ, & j. tunicam de purpura, & sandalia de eodem panno, & balton' de orfrasio cum lapidibus; unum par socularium & frettas de orfrasio, & j. par cirothecar' & dalmaticum de nigra purpura, & pallium regale de purpura cum morsu & brocha auri, & pannum sericum ad ferendum supra regem in coronatione sua, & magnum ceptum ejusdem regal'; virgam auream cum columba in summo; & ij. enses, scilicet, ensem tristra . . . & alium ensem de eodem regali; et calcaria aurea de eodem regali; cupam auri; cupam auri ponderis viij^{to} marc' & duarum untiar' & unius q'; cracem auri ponderis trium m. & vij. untiar' & dimid'. Et ut prædicti Rob' de Roppell' & homines sui inde sint quieti, has litteras nostras patentes eis fecimus. Teste domino P. Wint' episcopo apud Clarendon' ix. die Dec'. per eundem.—Rot. Pat. de anno 9. Reg. Johannis. m. 4. n^o 24.

^b Rot. Pat. 46 Hen. III. m. 20.

^c Ibid.

reduced by the rebellion of his barons.^a In 1272 they were redeemed and brought back again into England; and we find on that occasion not only a list of them, but a statement of their respective values.^b

Edward the Third's expensive wars with France obliged him to pawn his crown and jewels^c to the merchants of Flanders; and soon after the accession of his grandson king Richard the Second, they were placed in the hands of the bishop of London and the earl of Arundel, as security for the sum of ten thousand pounds, which that monarch had borrowed of John Philipot and other merchants of London.^d

Henry the Fifth, to enable him to carry on his wars, pledged his great collar called the Pusan, or Rich collar, to the mayor and commonalty of London, as security for ten thousand marks;^e and in the following year, having obtained large sums of money from the nobility and others, empowered Thomas Chitterne, keeper of his jewels, to deliver them to those persons, as pledges for the repayment of their respective loans.^f

King Henry the Sixth was, on several occasions, reduced to the necessity of pawning his jewels,^g in order to raise money: in the seventeenth year of his reign, appears the following curious account of articles, which, by advice and assent of his council, were delivered to his uncle Henry bishop of Winchester, the rich cardinal of England, as security for a loan of seven thousand marks, which was to be fully repaid by the feast of Easter in the year 1440, and if it were not, that then the said jewels should become the absolute property of the cardinal, to dispose of as he thought fit.^h

“A pusan of gold called the riche coler contenyng xvj. culpons or peces, upon the which beth viij antelopes garnished with xx. greet perles, and upon the same coler beth. v. baleys, wherof iiij. are

^a Ibid. 51 Hen. III. m. 17, 18.—55 Hen. III. m. 22.—56 Hen. III. m. 21.

^b Rot. Pat. 56 Hen. III. m. 21.—*Fœdera*, vol. i. pars i. p. 492.

^c Rot. Pat. 17 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 8.

^d Ibid. 1 Rich. II. p. 1. m. 5.

^e Ibid. 4 Hen. V. m. 4.

^f Rot. Pat. 5 Hen. V. m. 25.

^g Rot. Pat. 21 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 27. & p. 2. m. 9.—27 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 2.—28 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 2.—29 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 7.

^h Rot. Pat. 17 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 82.

of entaille square and the vth is vj quartered, and upon the same coler beth ij greet perles joyning unto ye baleys; also upon the same coler beth viij. crownes of gold, ich of hem enamyled with a reson of ung saunz pluis, and upoñ the same crownes beth ij. greet diamandes, square and pointed; also upon the same coler beth x onches, yche of hem with double floures of gold garnished, and upon yche of the same onches is a greet baleys, and vj greet perles, of which baleys vij. beth of entaille square, and iij. of hem beth rounde and ragged; also upon ye same coler is a nother littel onche with double floures of gold, garnished with a baleys of entaille square, and v. perles; also ther is in a little bagge of canvas with the same coler a greet longe perle, and ix. other rounde perles; also ther beth in ye same bagge xiiij. littel floures of gold, weyng in all lx. unces and di. quatr' of troye, the price M^l. M^l. D.CCC. ti.

Also a swerd of gold called the swerd of Spaigne, garnished with v. greet baleys, vi. greet saphirs iij^x xix. greet perles upon the scaberge; and the hilt is garnished with iij. baleys, ij. saphirs, xvj. greet perles; and the pomell of the same is garnished with a baleys, a saphir, x. perles, weyng in all x. marc and an half and half an unce of troye, the price ccc xxxij. li. vj. s. viij. d.

Also a tablet of gold of the passion of Crist, maade in the maner of a boke, garnished with xliij. diamandes, xx. baleys, xx. saphirs; with inne which tablet are xl. troches, yche troche contenyng iij. perles; and withoute ye same tablet are xvij. troches, ych troche contenyng iij. perles; and in the same tablet is a rube and xxxv. garnades; which tablet weith lx. unces of troye, the price cx. ti.

Also a tablet of Seint George, of gold garnished with a rube, viij. diamandes; and in that oon parte is an angel holdyng an helme, garnished with a rube and littel perles; and in yat other partie is a pusell knelyng, with a lambe garnished with a rube, and ye tablet all aboute is garnished with xxv. baleys, xxv. saphirs, iij. emeraudes, lv. greet perles, and iij^x xix perles of a nother sort, and a greet compaigne of other perles, weyng lxxix. unces di. the price ciiij. iij. ti.

Also a pusan of gold called Iklyngton Coler, garnished with

PART I.

2 B

iiij. rubes, iiij. greet saphirs, xxxij. greet perles, and liij other perles; the price. ccc. ti.

Also ij. salers of gold; whereof that oon is a man, and that other a woman, haldyng the saler, in here handes; and the man is garnissed with vij. rubes and vij. troches, every troche of iiij. perles; and upon the topet is a saphir, and the fote of the same man is garnissed with vj. rubes, vj. saphirs, and xlvij. perles; and ye woman haldyng a nother saler, garnissed with vij. rubes and vij. troches, every troche with iiij. perles, and upon ye topet is a saphir, and the fote is garnished with vj. rubes, vj. saphirs, and xlvij. perles, weyng all to gidre ^{xx}iiij xiiij. unces: the price of all cxl. ti.

Also ij. pottes, of gold, weyng xxxij. unces and di. the price of every unce xxij. s. iiij. d. s^a xxxix. li. xx. d.

Also a chales and ij. cruettes of gold weyng to gidre xxix. unces; the price of every unce xxij. s. iiij. d. s^a xxxij. ti xvj. s. viij. d.

Also a tablet of gold, of the Salutacion of oure Lady, garnissed with v. baleys, v. saphirs, and xxv. greet perles, weyng xxxv. unces; the price lx. ti.

Also an ymage of Seint George beyng upon a green tarage with a damysell knelyng, garnissed with xiiij. baleys, viij. saphirs, xvj troches, every troche contenyng iiij. perles, weyng lj. unces and di; the price lxviij. ti. xiiij. s. iiij. d.

Also a paire of basyns, of silver and overgilt, chaced with double roses and pounced, the bursell of kermerye, weyng xx. ti. viij. unces; also a greet almes dyssh, of silver and overgilt, maade in maner of a shipp full of men of armes feyghtyng upon the ship syde, weyng in all lxviij. ti. ix. unces of troye; also ij. greet chargeours, vj. lasse chargeours, xl. dysshes of diverser sortes, and xxij. saucers gilt, pois' cliij. ti. j. unc'; the sōme total of ye weght of the saide basyns, almes dyssh, and vessell cometh to ccxlj. ti. vj. unces; the price of every pounce xxxij. s. iiij. d. s^a cccij. ti. x. s.

Also a standyng tablet of gold with a pece of tunica inconsutul', garnissed with vj. baleys, vj. saphirs, xij. greet perles and xij. other lasse perles, with an ymage of Oure Lady, white enamiled in the toppe and on every syde an angel, weyng xxviij. unc' iij. quatr'; price of every unce xxij. s. iiij. d. s^a xxxij. ti. x. s. x. d.

Also a standyng coppe of gold, garnisshed with xlv. perles, and upon the topet is a saphir; and an ewere of gold, garnisshed with xxix. perles; weyng all to gidre lxvj. unc' of troye, price every unce xxiiij. s. iiij. d. s^a lxxvij. ti.

Also a flatte tablet of gold with a pece of tunica inconsutil', garnisshed with xxv. greet perles, weyng lxi. unc'; price of every unce xxiiij. s. iiij. d. s^a lxxj. ti. iiij. s. iiij. d. and the price of the perreye xiiij. ti. x. s. x. d. the hole sōme of ye tablet cōmeth to iiij. iiij. ti. xiiij. s. ij. d."

A few years afterwards the following articles belonging to the crown jewels were delivered to Humphrey earl of Buckingham, as a pledge for the payment of a thousand marcs at the following Easter, being part of a larger sum which was due to him for his own wages and those of the soldiers in the town of Calais;* and in case he did not receive satisfaction by the time specified, he had the power of disposing of the said jewels as he thought proper.

"Two basyns of gold chased in the manieir of roses pounced w^t greet bosseletts, garnysshed w^t divers scocheons, that is to say, in the myddes of the saide basyns the armes of Seint George, and aboute them tharmes of Seint Edward, Seint Edmund, tharmes of Themperoure, tharmes of Engeland and France departed, tharmes of the princepaltee and the armes of the duchie of Guyenne; whiche basyns weyen xliij. marc' of troye, price y^e unce xxvj. s. viij. d. the price of the said basyns cccc. lvij. ti. xiiij. s. iiij. d.

Also a tablet of Seint George, of golde garnisshed w^t a rubie viij. dyamandes; and in that oon partie is an angel haldyng an helme garnished w^t a rubie and litel perles; and in that other partie is a pucele knelyng w^t a lambe garnisshed w^t a rubie, and the tablet is garnisshed aboute w^t xxv. baleys, xxv. saphiers, thre emeraudes l. greet perles, iiij ix perles of another sorte, and a grete compaignye of other perles, weyng lxxix. unces and an half the price ciiij. iiij. ti. vi. s. viij. d.

Also a litel belle of gold weyng xx. unces, price of every unce xxiiij. s. iiij. d. the somme xxiiij. ti. vi. s. viij. d."

Several other interesting accounts appear upon record, particularly

* Rot. Pat. 21 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 27. in Turr. Lond.

in the reign of that unhappy prince, king Henry VI. of jewels and plate, pledged on different occasions, to satisfy the wants of the state; and some of them might merit recital; but a detailed history of these ornaments would require a space which neither the limits nor intention of this work will allow; though the following curious inventory of the regalia, as it existed in the time of king James the First, must not be omitted: it is taken from the original, signed at the beginning and end with the king's own hand, and preserved in the Chapter-house at Westminster.*

JAMES R.

Jewelless remayninge in an yron cheste in the secrete
Jewelhouse wthin the Tower of London.

Fyrst a crowne imperyall of golde sett about the nether border wth ix^{en} greate pointed dyamondes, and betwene everye dyamonde a knott of perle, sett by fyve perles in a knott, in the upper border eight rocke rubies and xx^{tie} rounde perles, the fower arches being sett eche of them wth a table dyamonde, a table rubye, an emeralde, and uppon twoe of the arches xvij^{en} perles and uppon the other twoe arches xvij^{en} perles, and betwene everye arche a greate ballace sett in a collett of golde, and uppon the topp a verye great ballace perced, and a lytle crosse of golde upon the topp enamelled blewe.

It'm a coronett of golde sett about the nether border wth iiij. blewe saphyrs, iiij. ballaces, one emeralde, v. roses of dyamondes, and xiiij^{en} rounde perles, and about the upper border sett with three blewe saphyrs, three ballaces, and vj. quaters of perles, every quater havinge in the middest a small pointed dyamonde.

It'm a circlett of golde sette wth a greate ballace rubye, viij. table

* This curious and valuable document was obligingly communicated by John Caley, Esq. keeper of the records in the Chapter-house: it is preserved in a book, entitled "A booke conteyninge the remayne of all suche Jewells and other p'cells as are remayninge in the kinges ma^{ty} secrete Jewelhouse wthin the Tower of London, accordinge to a survey thereof taken by th'erle of Dorsett, lorde high th'rer of Englande, Charles erle of Nottingham, lorde admyrall of Englande, Thomas erle of Suffolke, lorde chamberleyne of the kinges housholde, Edwarde erle of Worcester, master of the horse, and George lord Houme of Barwycke, chancellor and underth'rer of th'exchequier, by vertue of his highnes warr^{ante} under the privie seale dated the xxijth. daye of Marche in the seconde yeare of his ma^{ty} raigne of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande, and of Scottlande the xxxvijth."

dyamondes, ix^m emeraldes, xxxvj. rocke rubies, and lvj. rounde perles.

It'm one circlett, newe made for the quene, conteyninge in the myddest viij fayre dyamondes of dyverse fashions, viij fayre rubies, viij. emeraldes, and viij. saphyrs, garnished wth xxxij. smalle dyamondes, xxxij. small rubies, and lxiiij^r p^{les} fixed, and on eche border xxxij. small dyamondes, and xxxij. small rubyes, nowe remayninge wth the quene.

It'm a collar of serpent of golde enamelled, conteyninge viij. table dyamondes, wth a flower hanginge at it, wth a table rubye, and a fayre dyamonde cutt lozengewise.

It'm a collar of golde, conteyninge xiiij^m greate ballaces, and xiiij. peces of golde, with xiiij^m cinquies of perles betwene them.

It'm a collar of golde conteyninge xiiij^m greate table dyamondes and twoe other much bigger, beinge in nomber xvj^m, and xiiij^m quaters of greate perles.

It'm a collar of golde conteyninge fyve fayre table dyamondes, three greate rocke rubies, twoe table rubyes, lxiiij. litle rubyes, and xij. quaters of perles wantinge twoe perles, and xxxvj. small dyamondes in the peces.

It'm a collar of golde, conteyninge viij. fayre poynted dyamondes and one table dyamonde, wth l^res of P. and M. havinge to each of them a perle pendaunte.

It'm a collar of golde, wth viij. greate rocke rubyes, and one greate poynted dyamonde in the myddest and xx. greate perles sett in twoes wth one long perle pendaunte.

It'm a collar of golde conteyninge xiiij^m knottes of golde sett wth vij^m fayre dyamondes and xiiij^m lytle rubyes wth xiiij^m perles pendaunte, whereoft one dyamonde in the myddest is greate.

It'm one collar of twoe ioyntes sett with vj. table dyamondes, vij^m rocke rubies, vij^m emeraldes, and xvij^m knotts of perles, twoe perles in a knott.

It'm one collar of golde sett wth x^m blewe saphyres in collets of golde, and x^m knotts of rounde perles, every knott conteyninge xiiij^m perles, one knott wantinge iiij^r perles.

It'm one collar of golde sett wth xiiij^m emeraldes in collets of golde, and xiiij^m knotts of rounde perles, in everye knott ix^m perles.

It'm one collar of golde sett wth ix^m verye greate ballaces in colletts of golde and x. knotts of perles, everye knott conteyninge xvj^m rounde perles.

It'm one collar of golde wthout stone of the order of S^t. Michael, conteyninge xxiiij^{or} knotts of golde, and xxiiij^{or} knottes of duble skalloppe shelles havinge at thends of it S^t. Michael hanginge by twoe lytle cheynes.

It'm one collar of golde devyded into twoe braunches conteyninge in the same x^m table dyamondes, one bygger then the rest, x^m rubies, viij. beinge rocke rubies, and twoe table rubies, and xxxvj. rounde perles in twoes.

It'm one ryche collar of golde conteyninge x^m fayre table dyamondes, one pointed dyamonde in the myddest, xij. peces of goldsmytheswoorke wrought lyke friers knottes and set wth iiij^{or} xij. perles wth a flower of golde, therein a fayre table dyamonde and three perles pendaunte, twoe fayre and the thirde meane.

It'm a shorte collar of golde conteyninge iiij^{or} table dyamondes, three rubyes and viij. peces of golde, in eche twoe perles, one lytle dyamonde and one small rubie.

It'm one upper habillamente conteyninge xiiij^m peces of golde eche havinge one fayre table dyamonde.

It'm one upper habillament conteyninge x. peces of golde, eche havinge one table dyamonde, and vj. peces of golde, each havinge one rubie.

It'm tenne buttons sett wth tenne dyamondes for His Ma^{ty} wearinge, remayninge in the chardge of the lorde Barwycke.

It'm one upper habilliamente conteyninge xiiij^m peces of golde havinge in eache fower perles.

It'm twoe rynges of golde, th'one sett wth a topas, and th'other wth a white saphyr.

It'm one rynge of golde enamelled grene and white, havinge a fayre rocke rubie sett in fower clawes.

It'm a ringe of golde enamelled blacke, blewe, white, and grene, havinge a great rocke rubie in fower clawes enamelled grene.

It'm tenne buttons of golde sett wth tenne table dyamondes remayninge in the chardge of the lorde Barwycke.

It'm parte of a byllamente conteyninge twoe peces of golde sett wth twoe dyamondes.

It'm one brouche of golde enamelled and sett wth a dyamonde.

It'm one button of golde sett wth a dyamonde, and one greate ragged perle pendaunte.

It'm fyftene perles p'cell of one and fortie ragged perles pendaunte and eight pendaunte perles tyed unto a purple stringe.

It'm twentie buttons of golde sette wth fower perles a pece and true-love knotts.

It'm one greate blewe saphyr unsett.

It'm one greate amatiste sett in golde.

It'm xxiiij^{or} buttons of golde, eche havinge one fayre dyamonde of dyverse cuttes.

It'm xix^m rounde buttons of golde, eche havinge a dyamonde, some fayrer then other, rem' in the chardge of the lorde Barwycke.

It'm eight longe peces of goldsmytheswoorke eche havinge one fayre dyamonde.

It'm three longe peces of golde eche havinge one rocke rubye.

It'm a parte of a flower of golde beinge a rock rubye wth a longe p'le pendaunte.

It'm a flower wth a verye greate table dyamonde sett in golde called the myrror.

It'm a fayre flower wth three greate ballaces in the myddest, a greate pointed dyamonde, and three greate perles fixed wth a fayre greate p'le pendaunte called the Brethren.

It'm a flower of golde wth a table dyamonde, and a greate p'le pendaunte.

It'm a fayre rubye ballace wthout foyle, hanginge in a case of golde enamelled.

It'm a jewell, beinge a fayre rocke rubye ballace without foyle, and a fayre longe perle pendaunte at it.

It'm a perle pendaunte and a snayle on it.

It'm one lardge agatt, graven wth the picture of kinge Henrye the viijth. and kinge Edwarde the vjth.

It'm a pendaunte of fower perles in a cluster.

It'm a flower of golde wth a rocke rubye and a perle pendaunte.

It'm a fayre greate blewe saphyr wthout foyle, and a longe perle pendaunte.

It'm one fanne of feathers of sondry coulors, the handle of golde fullie furnished wth dyamondes and rubyes, wth a dyamonde lyke a nayle of th'one syde, and an emeralde on the other, beinge loose wth a ringe on th'ende of the handle, wth a sharpe pointed dyamonde.

It'm a greate and ryche jewell of golde called the myrror of Greate Brytaigne, conteyning one verye fayre table dyamonde, one verye fayre table rubye, twoe other lardge dyamondes cutt lozengewise, th'one of them called the stone of the l're H. oft Scottlande, garnished wth small dyamondes twoe rounde perles fixed, and one fayre dyamonde cutt in fawcetts, bought of Sauncy.

It'm one fayre jewell lyke a feather of golde, conteyninge one fayre table dyamonde in the myddest, and xxv. diamondes of diverse formes delivered by the lo. Barwyck.

It'm one jewell of golde of the l're J. havinge one fayre longe dyamonde in the myddest, twoe greate ballace rubies, and one small tryangle dyamonde in the topp.

It'm dyverse antiquyties in a purse of blacke velvett, in all wey-inge ∞ xv. oz. di. di. q^rter.

It'm one lesser bagge wth sondrye sylver mettalls.

It'm a purse of blacke velvett wth medalias of golde, some of them cheyned together.

It'm a purse wth sondrye mettalls of copper.

It'm one longe pece esteemed for an unicornes horne.

It'm three other peces esteemed lykewise to be unycornes horne.

It'm one greate twoe handed sworde garnyshed wth sylver and guylte, presented to kinge Henry the viijth by the Pope.

JAMES R.

This booke is agreable to a former booke made by me, and doth conteyne the entrie of all the kinges ma^{ty} jewells remayninge in the Tower of London.

FRA : GOFTON.

JAMES R.

Jewelless of the saide secrete jewelhouse in the
Tower geven by the kinges ma^{tie} owne handes to
the quene at severall tymes.

Fyrste one jewell wth a dyamonde and a spynell or rubye and
fyve perles wth a longe ragged ple pendaunte.

It'm a jewell beinge an H. conteyninge seven Dyamondes, thereof
fyve poynted and twoe tabled wth three perles pendaunte.

It'm a crosse of golde wth fyve longe dyamondes and a fayre ple
pendaunte.

It'm a flower of golde wth a sharpe pointed dyamonde, a rubye, an
emeralde, and a longe perle pendaunte.

It'm a flower of golde wth a sharpe poynted dyamonde and a rubye,
wth a ple pendaunte.

It'm a flower of golde wth a table dyamonde, a table rubye, and a
small perle pendaunte.

It'm a flower of golde wth a pointed dyamonde, a table rubye, and
a perle pendaunte.

It'm eight and fortye perles pcell of one hundreth and xij rounde
perles.

It'm one hundreth fourescore mynetene perles.

It'm one greate longe perle pendaunte taken from a flower of golde
wth a verye greate table dyamonde.

It'm a shorte coller of golde havinge three greate dyamondes, three
fayre rubyes, and three greate emeraldes, wth xxth perles sett in twoes
of goldsmythes woorke.

It'm one carkanett or billamente of golde conteyninge seventene
peces of golde sett wth seventene dyamondes.

It'm a crosse of golde wthout a heade havinge twoe poynted dya-
mondes, twoe fayre table dyamondes, and one lozenge dyamonde wth
a perle pendaunte.

It'm a crosse wth fower longe dyamondes and three Scottishe perles
pendaunte.

It'm a fayre tablett wth a crosse of xxij. dyamondes on the one
syde and a worde conteyninge sixtene l'res of dyamondes, *Dieu et*

PART I.

2 C

mon droyt, wth a lytle knobb pendaunte, therein twoe litle table diamondes and twoe rubyes, wth a clocke in it.

It'm one lytle bottle of an agatt sett wth one rubye, and a small cheyne of golde.

It'm a jewell of golde wth a greate dyamonde, a great rubye, and a longe perle pendaunte.

It'm a jewell of golde sett wth three dyamondes, and one rocke rubye, and one greate ragged ple pendaunte.

It'm a jewell of golde sett wth a pointed dyamonde, twoe rubies, and one emeralde, and twoe ragged perles pendaunte, beinge a whistle.

It'm a jewell of golde garnished wth fyve pendaunte perles, fyve rocke rubies, fower dyamondes, and twoe emeraldes, and a ragged ple in the myddest.

It'm one castinge bottle of golde sett wth small dyamondes and sparkes of rubyes.

It'm a flower of golde conteynge three dyamondes, twoe tabled and one poynted, wth a flatt perle pendaunte at it.

It'm a tablett of golde like a sheilde wth a rose of dyamondes in the myddest uppon a spredd eagle wth a table dyamonde, a poynted dyamonde, an emeralde, and a rubie, and three fayre perles pendaunte.

It'm a crosse of golde wth xij dyamondes.

It'm a jewell of golde wth one dyamonde cutt lyke a nayle, wth one rubye, one emeralde, and a longe perle pendaunte.

JAMES R.

This agreeth wth a former booke made by me wth was signed by the kinges ma^{ty} and dothe conteyne an entre of such jewells remayninge in the Tower of London as have bene delivered by the kinges owne hands to the quene.

FRA: GOFTON.

From the time of king Henry the Third, the usual repository of the crown jewels was the Tower of London, and they were generally under the care of a keeper, appointed by the king's letters patent, with a stated salary.

Edward the Third granted the office of keeper of his jewels, armories, and other things in the Tower, to John de Flete, during pleasure, with wages of twelve pence per diem;^a and afterwards, in the same reign, it was enjoyed by John de Mildenhall.^b

Subsequently the office became one of great honour and emolument, and was holden by persons of distinction; as, in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, by the famous Thomas Cromwell, who was afterwards earl of Essex.^c The keeper was styled master and treasurer of the Jewel-house; and, besides the care of the regalia in the Tower, he had the purchasing and custody of all royal plate; the appointment of the king and queen's goldsmiths and jewellers; the furnishing of plate to ambassadors, and great officers of state; and the remanding of it when the ambassadors returned, or the officers died, or were removed; he had lodgings in all the king's houses, and conveyance as well for the plate, as for his own household, on removals of the court.^d

The salary attached to his office was only fifty pounds per annum, but his perquisites were very considerable, and in the reign of king Charles the Second, after they had undergone considerable reduction, amounted to 1300 pounds yearly.^e He was allowed a table of fourteen dishes, with beer, wine, &c. or thirty-eight shillings daily for board wages:^f three hundred pounds came to him every year out of the new-year's-gift money; and about three hundred more he obtained by carrying presents to ambassadors:^g he had an allowance of twenty-eight ounces of gilt plate yearly, and the small presents sent to the king, anciently valued at thirty or forty pounds; as also the purses wherein the lords presented their gold, which were usually worth thirty or forty pounds each.^h

In public processions he had precedence next to privy counsellors;ⁱ at coronations he wore a scarlet robe, and dined at the barons' table in Westminster-hall;^k and, at opening and closing sessions of parliament, and on passing of bills, when the king appeared in his robes, he attended to put on and take off the crown from his majesty's head.^l

^a Rot. Pat. 12 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 88.

^b Rot. Claus. 21 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 29.

^c Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 370.

^d Harleian MSS. N° 1843.

^e Ibid.

^f Ibid.

^g Ibid.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ Ibid.

^k Ibid.

^l Ibid.

These and other privileges and emoluments were enjoyed by sir Henry Mildmay, who was master and treasurer of the Jewel House during the interregnum, but on the restoration of king Charles the Second and the attainder of sir Henry, the office was given to sir Gilbert Talbot; when, at the instance of lord chancellor Hyde,^a many of the perquisites were either abolished, or came into other hands; and, since that period, all the duties and advantages of the place have either been done away with, or have merged in the office of the lord chamberlain, except the custody of the regalia in the Tower; the appointment to which is also in his lordship's gift.

The master had lodgings for himself and servants in the Tower, but formerly he did not reside there, except on extraordinary occasions; that part of his charge being confided to a trusty servant.

It was soon after the appointment of sir Gilbert Talbot, that the regalia in the Tower first became objects of public inspection, which king Charles allowed in consequence of the above-mentioned reduction in the emoluments of the master's office.^b The profits which arose from shewing the jewels to strangers, sir Gilbert assigned, in lieu of a salary, to the person whom he had appointed to the care of them. This was an old confidential servant of his father's, one Talbot Edwards; whose name is handed down to posterity as keeper of the regalia when the notorious attempt to steal the crown was made by one Blood, a desperate ruffian,^c in the year 1673; the following account of which is chiefly derived from a relation which Mr. Edwards himself made of the transaction.^d

^a Harleian MSS. N^o 1843.

^b Ibid.

^c He was the son of a blacksmith in Ireland, and a fellow who deemed small crimes beneath him. One of his associates having received sentence of death in Yorkshire, he rescued him from the officers as they were leading him to the gallows. In Ireland, he laid a plot for surprizing the castle of Dublin; seizing upon the magazine there, and usurping the government; but, the conspiracy being discovered by the duke of Ormond, the night before its intended execution, some of the party were apprehended and suffered as traitors; whose death, *Blood* and the other survivors bound themselves by a solemn oath to revenge upon the duke's person: and he with five or six others accordingly attempted it in the most bold and determined manner; but his grace fortunately escaped; and *Blood*, in consequence, fell into some disrepute amongst his comrades. Therefore, to redeem his credit, he is said to have formed the design of stealing the crown, which, he thought, would fully recompense all his former miscarriages.

^d See Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, p. 580. and Stow's Survey of London, by Strype, vol. i. p. 99, 100. edit. 1754.

About three weeks before this audacious villain made his attempt upon the crown, he came to the Tower in the habit of a parson, with a long cloak cassock, and canonical girdle, accompanied by a woman whom he called his wife. They desired to see the regalia, and just as their wishes had been gratified, the lady feigned sudden indisposition : this called forth the kind offices of Mrs. Edwards, the keeper's wife, who having courteously invited her into their house to repose herself, she soon recovered ; and on their departure professed themselves thankful for this civility.

A few days after, Blood came again, bringing a present to Mrs. Edwards of four pairs of white gloves, from his pretended wife ; and, having thus begun the acquaintance, they made frequent visits to improve it. After a short respite of their compliments, the disguised ruffian returned again ; and, in conversation with Mrs. Edwards, said that his wife could discourse of nothing but the kindness of those good people in the Tower : that she had long studied, and at length bethought herself of a handsome way of requital. You have, quoth he, a pretty young gentlewoman for your daughter, and I have a young nephew, who has two or three hundred a year in land, and is at my disposal. If your daughter be free, and you approve it, I'll bring him here to see her, and we will endeavour to make it a match. This was easily assented to by old Mr. Edwards, who invited the parson to dine with him on that day : he readily accepted the invitation ; and, taking upon him to say grace, performed it with great seeming devotion, and, casting up his eyes, concluded it with a prayer for the king, queen, and royal family. After dinner he went up to see the rooms, and, observing a handsome case of pistols hang there, expressed a great desire to buy them, to present to a young lord who was his neighbour ; a pretence by which he thought of disarming the house against the period intended for the execution of his design. At his departure, ' which was a canonical benediction of the good company, he appointed a day and hour^a to bring his young nephew to see his mistress ; which was the very day that he made his daring attempt.'

^a The ninth of May, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning.—The hour, not very seasonable for such an interview, was accounted for by the excuse that two friends, whom he wished to bring with him to see the regalia, were about to leave town early that morning.

The good old gentleman had got up ready to receive his guest, and the daughter was in her best dress to entertain her expected lover; when, behold, parson Blood, with three more, came to the Jewel-house, all armed with rapier blades in their canes, and every one a dagger, and a brace of pocket-pistols. Two of his companions entered in with him, on pretence of seeing the crown, and the third stayed at the door, as if to look after the young lady, a jewel of a more charming description, but in reality as a watch. The daughter, who thought it not modest to come down till she was called, sent the maid to take a view of the company, and bring a description of her gallant; and the servant conceiving that he was the intended bridegroom who stayed at the door, being the youngest of the party, returned to sooth the anxiety of her young mistress with the idea she had formed of his person.

'Blood told Mr. Edwards, that they would not go up stairs till his wife came, and desired him to shew his friends the crown to pass the time till then; and they had no sooner entered the room, and the door, as usual, shut, than a cloak was thrown over the old man's head, and a gag put in his mouth.

Thus secured, they told him, that their resolution was to have the crown, globe, and sceptre; and, if he would quietly submit to it, they would spare his life; otherwise he was to expect no mercy. He thereupon endeavoured to make all the noise he possibly could, to be heard above; they then knocked him down with a wooden mallet, and told him, that, if yet he would lie quietly, they would spare his life; but if not, upon his next attempt to discover them, they would kill him: Mr. Edwards, however, according to his own account, was not intimidated by this threat, but strained himself, to make the greater noise, and in consequence received several more blows on the head with the mallet, and was stabbed in the belly: this again brought the poor old man to the ground, where he lay for some time in so senseless a state, that one of the villains pronounced him dead. Edwards had come a little to himself, and, hearing this, lay quietly, conceiving it best to be thought so. The booty was now to be disposed of, and one of them, named Parrot,* put the orb in his breeches:

* He was a silk dyer in Southwark, and, in the rebellion, had been a lieutenant under major general Harrison.

Blood held the crown under his cloak ; and the third was about to file the sceptre in two, in order that it might be placed in a bag, brought for that purpose ; but fortunately, the son of Mr. Edwards, who had been in Flanders with sir John Talbot, and on his landing in England had obtained leave to come away, post, to visit his father, happened to arrive whilst this scene was acting ; and on coming to the door the person that stood centinel asked, with whom he would speak ? to which he answered, that he belonged to the house ; and, perceiving the person to be a stranger, told him that if he had any business with his father that he would acquaint him with it, and so hastened up stairs to salute his friends. This unexpected accident spread confusion amongst the party, and they instantly decamped with the crown and orb, leaving the sceptre yet unfiled.

The aged keeper now raised himself upon his legs, forced the gag from his mouth, and cried, *treason ! murder !* which being heard by his daughter, who was, perhaps, anxiously expecting far other sounds, ran out and reiterated the cry. The alarm now became general, and young Edwards and his brother-in-law, captain Beckman, ran after the conspirators ; whom a warder put himself in a position to stop : but Blood discharged a pistol at him, and he fell, although unhurt, and the thieves proceeded safely to the next post ; where one Sill, who had been a soldier under Cromwell, stood centinel : but he offered no opposition, and they accordingly passed the drawbridge. Horses were waiting for them at St. Catherine's gate, and as they ran that way, along the Tower wharf, they themselves cried out, *stop the rogues ;* by which they passed on unsuspected till captain Beckman overtook them. At his head Blood fired another pistol, but missed him, and was seized. Under the cloak of this daring villain was found the crown, and, although he saw himself a prisoner, he had yet the impudence to struggle for his prey ; and when it was finally wrested from him, said, *It was a gallant attempt, however unsuccessful : it was for a crown !*

Parrot was also taken ; but Hunt, Blood's son-in-law, reached his horse and rode off, as did two other of the thieves ; but he was soon afterwards stopped, and likewise committed to custody.

In this struggle and confusion, the great pearl, a large diamond, and several smaller stones, were lost from the crown ; but the two

former, and some of the latter, were afterwards found, and restored ; and the Ballas ruby, broken off the sceptre, being found in Parrot's pocket, nothing considerable was eventually missing.

As soon as the prisoners were secured, young Edwards hastened to Sir Gilbert Talbot, who was then master and treasurer of the Jewel-house, and gave him an account of the transaction. Sir Gilbert instantly went to the king and acquainted his majesty with it ; and his majesty commanded him to proceed forthwith to the Tower, to see how matters stood ; to take the examination of Blood, and the others ; and to return and report it to him. Sir Gilbert accordingly went ; but the king in the mean time was persuaded by some about him, to hear the examination himself, and the prisoners were in consequence sent for to Whitehall ; a circumstance which is supposed to have saved these daring wretches from the gallows.

Blood, who had previously been the leader in an attempt upon the life of the duke of Ormond, during his examination respecting the crown, was also interrogated on that subject, and, as if he valued himself upon the action, and, possibly, suspecting that some discovery had already been made concerning it, without any scruple acknowledged that he was one of the party ; but, on being asked respecting his associates, he answered, that *he would never betray a friend's life, nor deny a guilt in defence of his own !* As to the provocation which he had for that assault, he said, that the duke had taken away his estate, and had executed some of his friends ; for which he and many others were bound by a solemn oath to be revenged. Lest the concealment of any of his audacities should detract from the romance of his life, he also voluntarily confessed to the king that he had been engaged in a design to kill his majesty with a carbine from among the reeds by Thames' side above Battersea ; and, that the cause of this resolution in himself and others, was, his majesty's severity over the consciences of the godly, in suppressing the freedom of religious assemblies ; but, that when he had put himself in wait for that purpose, his heart was checked by an awe of majesty ; and he did not only himself relent, but also diverted his associates from the design.

By these confessions, he told the king, that he had sufficiently laid himself open to the law, and might reasonably anticipate its utmost rigour ; for which, as far as concerned himself, he was prepared :

inasmuch as there were hundreds of their friends, yet undiscovered, who were bound to each other, by the indispensable oaths of conspirators, to revenge the death of any of their colleagues, upon those who should bring them to justice; and that, therefore, his majesty, and all his ministers, would be exposed to the daily fear and expectation of a massacre. On the other hand, however, if his majesty would spare the lives of a few, he might win the hearts of many; who, as they had been daring in mischiefs, would be as bold, if received into pardon and favor, to distinguish themselves in the service of the state.

Thus did that audacious and wary villain partly overawe, and partly captivate the good-nature of the king: in short, after being remanded to prison, he and his accomplices were not only pardoned, but that vile wretch himself received into favor; had five hundred pounds a year conferred upon him in Ireland; was admitted to the private intimacy of that abandoned court, enjoying the smiles of majesty, and even frequently seen employing his influence as a most successful patron. 'Many courted his acquaintance, as the Indians reverence devils—that they may not hurt them; but all good men inwardly despised and looked upon him with horror.' He died peacefully in his bed, on the 29th of August, 1680, fearlessly, and without any signs of penitence, totally hardened and forsaken by heaven.^a

The venerable Talbot Edwards, so far from receiving the merited reward of his fidelity, through the great intercession of his friends, obtained a grant from the Exchequer of two hundred pounds for himself, and one hundred more for his son; but the payment, even of these small sums, was so long delayed, and the expenses attendant on the old man's wounds so great, that they were obliged at last to sell their orders, for half of their amount in ready money.^b This good and faithful servant survived his injuries till the 30th of September, 1674, when he died, aged eighty years and nine months.^c

What could have been king Charles's real motive for extending mercy to such a wretch as Blood, must ever be a mystery to the world. Few will be inclined to believe that the proffer of service

^a Pennant's Account of London.

^b Stow's Survey of London, by Strype, vol. i. p. 100.

^c See page 126.

from so vile a miscreant could have prevailed upon his majesty's judgment; for, base indeed must be the government that could have recourse to such instruments to support it, and despicable must be that authority which would be intimidated from the execution of justice upon so great a malefactor; yet both these seem to have operated in the villain's favor, and he was ever after regarded as "a sicarius to a profligate set of men, to overawe any who had integrity enough to resist the measures of a most profligate court."^a

As Blood was also charged, and by his own confession guilty, of the attempt upon the duke of Ormond's life, lord Arlington was sent, when the villain's pardon was decided upon, in order to inform his grace that it was his majesty's pleasure that he should not be prosecuted; and his lordship was about to assign the king's reasons, but the duke interrupted him, and nobly answered, *If his majesty can forgive Blood's stealing the crown, he may easily pardon his attempt upon my life; and if such be his majesty's pleasure, that is a sufficient reason for me;—your lordship may spare the rest.*

Without pretending to enter into a minute description of the regalia, the following short account may be offered of such parts of the crown jewels as are most particularly deserving of notice.

There are five crowns; the first of which is called St. Edward's,^b being the imperial crown that the kings of England are crowned with. It was made for the coronation of king Charles the Second, and is embellished with pearls, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and sapphires, with a mound of gold on the top, encircled with a band or fillet of gold, garnished also with precious stones, and three very large oval pearls, one at the top, and the others pendant to the ends of the cross. This crown is formed of four crosses, and as many fleur-de-lis of gold, rising from a rim or circlet also of gold, and set with precious stones; and the cap within is made of purple velvet, lined with taffeta, and turned up with ermine.

THE CROWN OF STATE, which is so called, because worn by the

^a Pennant's Account of London.

^b It derives its name from the ancient crown, supposed to have been worn by king Edward the Confessor, and which was preserved in Westminster Abbey till the rebellion in the reign of king Charles I., when it was sacrilegiously taken away, together with many other articles belonging to the regalia.

king or queen when they go in state to parliament,^a was also made at the coronation of king Charles II. It is exceedingly rich, being garnished with a profusion of diamonds and other stones; but is particularly remarkable as being embellished with an emerald seven inches in circumference, a pearl, the finest in the world, and a ruby of inestimable value.

THE QUEEN'S CIRCLET OF GOLD. This was worn by queen Mary, consort of king James II. in proceeding to her coronation: it is a rim or circle of gold, richly adorned with large diamonds, curiously set, and around the upper edge a string of pearl; the cap is of purple velvet, lined with white taffeta, and turned up with ermine, richly powdered.

THE QUEEN'S CROWN, being that with which the queens are crowned, is a very rich crown of gold set with diamonds of great value, intermixed with other precious stones and pearls; the cap being similar to the preceding:

Another crown, which is called the QUEEN'S RICH CROWN, is worn by the queen on her return to Westminster-hall after the ceremony of her coronation. It is of gold, most splendidly adorned with diamonds and pearls, and, like the other imperial crowns, composed of crosses and fleur-de-lis, rising from a rim or circle of gold.

THE ORB, which rests in the king's right hand at his coronation,^b and is borne in his left on his return to Westminster-hall, is a ball of gold, six inches in diameter, encompassed with a band or fillet of gold, embellished with roses of diamonds encircling other precious stones, and edged with pearl. On the top is an extraordinary fine amethyst, of an oval shape, near an inch and a half in height, which forms the foot or pedestal of a cross of gold, three inches and a

^a In ancient times our kings observed the principal feasts with great hospitality and pomp, particularly those of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, when they always wore their crowns of state. William the Conqueror usually kept his Christmas at Gloucester; Easter at Winchester; and Whitsuntide at Westminster. The strict observance of wearing the crown at these festivals was first neglected by king Edward the First; and afterwards the custom gradually became forgotten.

^b The orb was an ensign, the intention of which was borrowed by our early Saxon kings from the Roman emperors, by whom it was used with their title, *imperatores orbis terrarum*, as an emblem of their pretended power over the whole. After the conversion of the Romans to Christianity, they surmounted it with a cross, and with this accompaniment we find it on most of the coins and seals of our kings from the time of Edward the Confessor.

quarter high, set very thick with diamonds, and adorned with a sapphire, an emerald, and several large pearls.

THE AMPULLA, or EAGLE OF GOLD, which contains the holy oil at the ceremony of the coronation, is in the form of an eagle with wings expanded, standing on a pedestal; all of pure gold finely chased. The head screws off about the middle of the neck for the convenience of putting in the oil, which is poured out through the beak into a spoon, called the anointing spoon, which is likewise of pure gold, with four pearls in the broadest part of the handle. These are considered to be of great antiquity.

CURTANA, or the SWORD OF MERCY, which is borne naked before the king, between the two swords of justice at the coronation, is of plain steel, gilded. The blade is thirty-two inches in length, and nearly two in breadth: the handle is covered with fine gold wire, and the point flat. The swords of justice are the spiritual and temporal; which are borne, the former on the right hand and the latter on the left, before the king or queen at their coronation. The point of the spiritual sword is somewhat obtuse, but that of the temporal sword is sharp. Their blades are about forty inches long; the handles cased with fine gold wire, and the scabbards of all three are alike, covered with a rich brocaded cloth of tissue, with a fine ferule, hook, and chape.

SAINT EDWARD'S STAFF, which is carried before the king at the coronation, is a staff or sceptre of beaten gold, four feet seven inches and a half in length, and about three quarters of an inch in diameter, with a pike or foot of steel, four inches and a quarter long, and a mound and cross at the top.

THE KING'S SCEPTRE WITH THE DOVE is of gold, in length three feet seven inches, and about three inches in circumference. It is set with diamonds and other precious stones; and upon the mound at the top, which is encircled with a band or fillet of rose diamonds, is a small cross, whereon is fixed a dove with wings expanded, as the emblem of mercy.

THE KING'S SCEPTRE WITH THE CROSS, or Sceptre Royal, likewise of gold, is two feet nine inches in length, and of the same size as that with the dove: the handle is plain, but the upper part is wreathed, and the pommel at the bottom set with rubies, emeralds,

and small diamonds: the top rises into a fleur-de-lis, enriched with precious stones; out of which issues a mound, made of an amethyst, garnished with table diamonds: and upon the mound is a cross covered with precious stones, having a large table diamond in the centre.

THE QUEEN'S SCEPTRE WITH THE CROSS, is also of gold, adorned with diamonds and other precious stones, and, in most parts, is very like the king's, but not wreathed, nor quite so large.

THE QUEEN'S IVORY ROD, which was made for queen Mary, consort of king James the Second, is a sceptre of white ivory, three feet one inch and a half in length, with a pommel, mound, and cross of gold, and a dove on the top.

Besides these there is another very rich and elegant sceptre with a dove, which was discovered in 1814, behind a part of the old wainscoting of the Jewel-house, where it seems to have lain unobserved for a great number of years. This nearly assimilates to the king's sceptre with the dove, and there is every probability that it was made for queen Mary, the consort of William the Third, with whom she was jointly invested with the exercise of the royal authority.

ARMILLÆ OR BRACELETS, which are ornaments for the king's wrist, worn at coronations, are of solid fine gold, an inch and a half in breadth, and edged with rows of pearl. They open by means of a hinge, for the purpose of being put on the arm, and are chased with the rose, thistle, fleur-de-lis, and harp. Than the bracelet there is not, perhaps, any ornament more universally known, or of higher antiquity, and we generally find it, as a distinguishing mark, worn by kings and chieftains: it is frequently mentioned not only in the history of our Saxon and Danish ancestors, but in the writings of far more ancient nations.*

THE ROYAL SPURS are also made of fine gold curiously wrought, and are carried in the procession at coronations by the lords Grey of Ruthyn; a service which they claim by descent from the family of Hastings, earls of Hastings.

THE SALTSELLER OF STATE, which is a model, in gold, of the White Tower; a grand silver font, double gilt, generally used at the baptisms of the royal family; and a large silver fountain presented to

* "And I took the crown that was upon his head, and the bracelet that was upon his arm, and have brought them hither unto my Lord."—2 *Samuel*, ch. i. 10.

king Charles the Second by the town of Plymouth, are likewise worthy of notice; and there is also, repositied in the Jewel-house, a magnificent service of communion plate belonging to the Tower chapel: it is of silver, double gilt, superbly wrought; the principal piece containing a beautiful representation of the Lord's supper.

The present keeper of the regalia is Edmund L. Swift, Esq. barrister at law.

From the Jewel Tower we resume our perambulation of the inner enclosure, the wall of which takes a southerly direction from that building, and at the distance of ninety feet is strengthened with another tower called

THE CONSTABLE TOWER.

This building is distinguished by its present appellation in the several surveys taken of the fortress in the reigns of king Henry the Eighth,^a queen Elizabeth,^b king James the Second,^c and George the First,^d and in a manuscript in the Harleian collection,^e dated in 1641, entitled, "A perticular of the towers and prison lodgings in his majesty's Tower of London," it is also known by that name, and described as a prison-lodging. In form and style of architecture it closely corresponds with the Beauchamp Tower, but is of rather smaller dimensions. The original walls still exist in a perfect state, but the windows have been greatly enlarged, and the whole interior of the building modernized.

Hence the ancient enclosure wall continues in the same direction to the distance of seventy-two feet, where it joins to a tower, called in the survey of 1532, "the tower at the east end of the Wardrobe," but in each of the others styled

THE BROAD ARROW TOWER.

This fortification likewise assimilates, both in form and style of architecture, to the Beauchamp Tower, but is of smaller dimensions; the various memorials left on its dreary walls shew that it was formerly appropriated to the same purpose; and in like manner it consists of two stories, ascended by a small spiral staircase. The

^a See Appendix.

^b See the ancient plan accompanying this work.

^c Monumenta Vetusta, vol. iv.

^d Ibid.

^e Harleian MSS, n° 1326.

first floor contains one dismal chamber with three deep recesses^a in the walls ; and by the side of a small door-way communicating with the foot passage on the top of the ballium wall, is an entrance to a small cell about six feet long, and from three to four feet wide, and to which light is admitted by a narrow embrasure.

This floor seems to have been a part chiefly used for the confinement of state-prisoners, and it is here that the inscriptions were found, but so obscured by the repeated white-washing of the apartments, that it was only by cleaning off the lime that the following were rendered at all legible.

IOHN · DANIELL · 1556.

This prisoner was engaged with several others in a conspiracy to have excited an insurrection against the government of queen Mary ; and, in order to obtain means for putting their design in execution, they intended to have first ransacked the treasury of the Exchequer,^b which at that time was stored with a great quantity of Spanish money :^c but the plot being disclosed by one of the party, Daniell, together with Peckham, Dethick, Udall, Throckmorton, and Stanton, was apprehended and committed to prison,^d and several others fled into France :^e sir Anthony Kingston was also accused and taken, but died on the road towards London.^f

Throckmorton and Udall were executed at Tyburn, on the twenty-eighth of April, as was Stanton on the nineteenth of May ; and John Daniell and Henry Peckham, after being hanged on Tower-hill, were beheaded, and their bodies buried in Barking church.^g

On the left hand side of the room, between the first and second recess, is a large mutilated mass of inscriptions, of which the following is the only one that could be made out.

^a These exactly correspond with the recesses in the principal prison-room of the Beauchamp Tower ; the arches of the door-ways in both buildings are also pointed alike ; and at the back of each recess is a narrow embrasure. There are also recesses in the walls on the ground floor of this tower.

^b Grafton and Hollinshed.

^c Goodwin, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 363.

^d Fabian, Stow, Hollinshed, and Grafton.

^e Hollinshed.

^f Grafton, Hollinshed, and Goodwin, ut supra.

^g Stow and Hollinshed.

QVOD RATIO REDDENDA ERIT DEO CVM
 VENERIT DIES ILLA IVDICII MAGNA DE
 CVNCTIS COGITATIONIBVS VERBIS ET OPE-
 RIBVS. DÑS ILLVMINABIT ASCONDITA TE-
 NEBRARVM ET MANIFESTABIT CONSILIA
 CORDIVM CVM VENERIT . . ORS. OMNE
DE VERBIS.
 VERBVM OTIOSVM QVOD LOCVTI FVERINT
 HOMINES REDDENT RATIONEM DE EO IN
 DIE IVDICII. MAT. 12.
 CUNCTA QUÆ FIVNT ADDVCET DEVS IN IVDI-
 CIVM ERO OMNI ERRATO SIVE BONVM SIVE
 MALVM SIT. ECCLESIASTES. 12.
 QVOTIES DIEM ILLAM CONSIDERABO TOTO CORPORE CONTREMISCO
 SIVE ENIM COMEDO . SIVE BIBO . SIVE ALIQVID ALIVD FACIO . SEMPER
 IN AVRIBVS MEIS SONARE VIDETVR TREMENDA ILLA VOX IVR-
 GITE MORIVI VENITE AD IVDICIVM.
 QVOD SIBI QVIS . . ERIT PRÆSENTIS TEMPORE VITÆ
 HOC SIBI MESSIS ERIT CVM DICITVR ITE VENITE.

The above pious memorial is without name or date, but the characters in which it is written so closely correspond with the remains of an adjoining inscription as to leave little or no doubt of its having been made by the same person. This latter, though much defaced, appears to have been cut with surprising ingenuity, and is subscribed "January 1591. J. Gage;" some prisoner, perhaps, of the Roman Catholic communion, but of whom no account has hitherto been discovered.

Another illegible inscription, near to the above, is signed "Thomas Ford;" a priest of the Roman religion, who was executed with some others of the same character, in 1582,* for persisting in the pope's supremacy, and for other treasonable practices against the government.

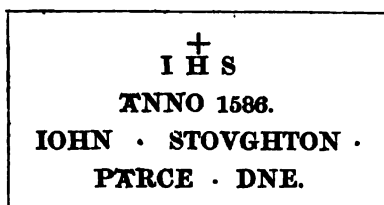
In the second or middle recess are several memorials and fragments, but the only one that could be made out is the following :

INQUESTE . VANITA . CHOGNVNDESIA .
 NŌPONER . TVA . SPERANZA . MA . SICVRO .
 SCORGI . IL . CAMIN . CH'AL . SOMO . BEN . TIVIA .
 GIOVĀNI . BATTISTA .
 CASTIGLIONE .
 1556.

* Howe's Chronicle, p. 696, and Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 487.

Concerning this prisoner no information can be given.

The next and only other legible inscription among the multitude left in this apartment is the following :



This John Stoughton, whose name, with the same date, is repeated on different sides of the room, in all probability, was one of the many seminary priests confined in the Tower about that time, and of whom great numbers were banished,^a and others executed.^b

It may be seen by the ancient plan of the Tower, annexed to this work, that, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, there was a building called the Wardrobe, forming part of the palace, which extended westward from the Broad Arrow Tower and communicated with, and gave name to, a strong round tower, that stood near to the south west corner of the citadel or keep.

Of the Wardrobe, or, as it was most commonly called, the King's Private Wardrobe, in the Tower, we find frequent mention in early records, not merely as the repository of the royal robes, armour, &c. as the name would imply, but as a treasury, where subsidies and other monies were often paid in and deposited till they were remitted to the receipt of Exchequer.^c The keeper of the Wardrobe was appointed by the king, and received wages of twelve pence per diem,^d besides other emoluments.

At what period this building was taken down does not appear ; but no vestiges of it, nor of the tower with which it was connected, seem to have been extant in the reign of king James the Second.^e

Returning to the Broad Arrow Tower, and resuming the course of the enclosure wall, we proceed to the south-west angle of the inner ward ; the situation of another tower, called in the survey of 1532, "Julyus Sesar Tower," but in each of the others, denominated

^a Howe's Chronicle, pp. 700, 710.

^b Ibid. 719.

^c Maddox's History of the Exchequer, pp. 182, 185.

^d Rot. Claus. 1 Edw. IV. m. 23.

^e Vide Monumenta Vetusta, vol. iv. plate xxxix.

THE SALT TOWER.

Whence this building derived its present or more ancient title, is, perhaps, impossible now to be ascertained. It stands at the distance of 135 feet from the fortification last described, and, like most of the lesser towers, consists of two stories, ascended by a small winding staircase of stone. In form it is nearly circular; the ground floor is a vaulted dungeon with deep recesses in the walls; and the first story exhibits various signs of its having, in former times, been tenanted by the sufferer in the cause of religion, the unpitied traitor, and the violator of nature's and his country's laws. Many memorials of these unfortunate wretches still exist on the walls, but that which deserves the most particular notice, is the curious device represented in the annexed plate. It is a large ingenious piece of sculpture on the left hand side of the entrance to the room, and an inscription at the top of it informs us that "Hew Draper of Brystow made thys spheer the 30 daye of Maye anno 1561."

From an account of the names of prisoners and the causes of their commitment, delivered by sir Edward Warner, knight, lieutenant of the Tower, to the lords of the privy council, on the 26th of May, 1561,^a we derive the following information respecting this prisoner and our ancient popular superstitions.

"Hugh Draper committed the 21st of March 1560."

"This man was brought in by the accusation of one John Man, an astronomer, as a suspect of a conjurer or sorcerer, and thereby to practise matter againste S^r William S^r Lowe and my Ladie. And in his confession it apperithe that before time he hathe ben busie and doinge wth suche matters, but he denieth any matter of weight touchinge S^r William Sentlo or my Ladie, and alsoe affirmethe y^e longe since he soe misliked his science, that he burned all his books. He is p^{ntly} verie sicke: he semithe to be a man of goode wealthe & kepithe a taverne at Bristowe and is of his neighbours well reported."

This unfortunate conjurer has also left other memorials in different parts of the room, and in one place is a large globe very ingeniously carved, most likely, by the same person.

^a MSS. preserved in the house of the resident governor of the Tower.



Engraved by W. Smith.

Drawn by F. Nash.

NEW: ORAPER: OF: BRYSTOW: MADE: IN: HIS: SPHER: THE: SO: DAYE: OF: MAYE: A: 1606: K: G: I.

Printed by M. Queen K.

London, Published March 6, 1606, by T. Child in the Strand.

I : LYON : 1574.

It is highly probable that this prisoner was one of the Roman Catholic priests who are mentioned as having been arrested and committed to prison the year in which the above inscription is dated.

The next is an illegible memorial in Latin, and near to it, cut in ancient characters, are the words, *God save the King*, and there is also the following :

MYCHÆL
MOODY.
MAY . 15 . 1587 .

This person was engaged in a conspiracy to take away the life of queen Elizabeth.

The year in which the above inscription is dated, the unfortunate Mary queen of Scots being a prisoner, under sentence of death, in England, the minds of all, as well in this as other countries, were agitated respecting her ultimate fate; and L'Aubespine, the French ambassador, a man wholly devoted, says Camden, to the Guisian faction, 'supposing it best to provide for the safety of the captive queen, not by arguments, but by underhand practices, tampered about taking away queen Elizabeth's life. He at first broached the matter to William Stafford, a young gentleman ready to catch at new hopes of advancement, whose mother was of her majesty's honorable bed-chamber, and his brother, at that time ambassador in France; and he afterwards dealt with him more plainly on the subject by Trappy his secretary, who promised him, if he would effect it, not only infinite glory and a vast sum of money, but also especial favor with the pope, the duke of Guise, and generally with the catholics. Stafford detesting the act refused to do it; yet recommended one Moody, a noted fellow, who without doubt would do the business; and Trappy accordingly, in company with Stafford, went to Moody, and conferred with him on the subject. Moody proposed to do it by poison, or by gunpowder to be secretly put under the queen's bed, neither of which the secretary appeared to be pleased

with; but wished that such another resolute fellow could be found as the Burgundian who murdered the prince of Orange.'

Stafford having revealed these things to the council, Trappy was seized when on the point of suddenly departing for France; and, being questioned, made a confession corresponding with the account which Stafford had already given of the design. Hereupon the ambassador was sent for to Cecil-house, where, in the presence of the earl of Leicester, sir Christopher Hatton, and secretary Davison, lord Burghleigh not only acquainted him with the cause of Trappy's apprehension, and every thing which he, Stafford, and Moody had confessed, but gravely reprov'd him for plotting or being accessary to so base a deed: telling him also to beware how he again committed treason or forgot the duty of an ambassador, and that he was not acquitted from the guilt of the offence, although he escaped punishment.

Moody, as it should seem, was sent to the Tower, but escaped severer punishment than remaining in prison; for on the appointment of sir Michael Blount to the lieutenancy of the Tower, in 1590, Michael Moody is mentioned in the list of prisoners delivered into his custody; and in the following year he appears to have been removed, with some others, to the Marshalsea.

Adjoining this inscription of Michael Moody is a large E on a bleeding heart, over which is the date "1556, August 14," and under it are the names "John Baptist," and "Christopher Perne," both of which are uninteresting.

On the left-hand side of the room, in the window place, is a coat of arms—a shield bearing three crosses; and there is also a long memorial in French; but this, like many others, has been rendered illegible by the painting and white-washing of the walls.

The only other inscription worthy of notice, is the following:

E. H. I. R. I. EDWARDVS HYRSTE 1587. JANVARY. 24. CVSTOS M. M. HOC SCRIPST.
--

This memorial is in a recess on the right-hand side of the chamber, and from the corresponding date, and the words *Custos M. M.* we may conjecture that the person who left it was keeper of Michael Moody, the prisoner above noticed.

From the Salt Tower the wall of the inner ward originally extended in a westerly direction to another fortification, denominated the Lanthorn Tower; but at a subsequent period this space was occupied by a long building, which formed part of the palace, and was called the king's gallery; in front and at the back of which were the king and queen's gardens.

THE LANTHORN TOWER.

This building also formed part of the royal apartments, and is particularly mentioned as having contained the king's bed-chamber and private closet. Adjoining this tower were the great hall and the other buildings of the palace, which occupied the entire south-east angle of the inner enclosure, as will be better understood by referring to the accompanying plan of the fortress, made in the reign of queen Elizabeth; at which period there existed one row of buildings extending from this tower northward to that of the Wardrobe; another running in a north-westerly direction; and a third, called the Queen's Gallery, eastward; no vestiges of which are now extant.

There can be no doubt but that this tower and some of the adjoining buildings of the palace were of much higher antiquity than any of the small towers which have been described in the preceding pages: indeed, it is extremely probable, that several of them were erected in the time of king William Rufus, or, at least, greatly anterior to the reign of Henry the Third; for soon after the accession of that monarch, some of them, particularly the great hall and the king's chamber, are mentioned as being then in need of repair.*

The Lanthorn Tower was a large circular building, surmounted by a small turret, and adjoining it, on the south side, was a gateway spanning the outer ward, and communicating with an exterior fortification; the lower part of which still exists.^b It is not improbable but that this tower was at some period partly rebuilt, it being

* Rot. Claus. de anno 3 Hen. III. m. 2.

^b See under the title of the Cradle Tower.

noticed in the survey of 1532 as the 'New Tower.' In the year 1788, a great portion of it was destroyed by fire, and its remains were soon afterwards taken down, together with the adjoining gateway.

To the lover of antiquity and the inquirer into the manners of early ages, it must be a subject of lasting regret that no description has been handed down to us of the domestic apartments of this ancient seat of royalty, and more particularly as no remains of them are now to be traced.*

Of the Great Hall and the King's Chamber frequent mention is made in early records, but from these we derive no satisfactory information respecting their form or extent. In the third year of the reign of king Henry III. an order was issued for the repair of both these buildings; in the sixteenth year of his reign the keeper of the park of Havering was commanded to cause the constable of the Tower to have forty fir trees to repair the hall of the said Tower;^b the treasurer and chamberlains of the exchequer were also directed in the year following to deliver to the constable as much money as might be necessary for the completion of the work;^c and it should seem that a royal banquet was given there in 1236,^d soon after Henry's marriage with Eleanor of Provence, which took place in that year.

The Great Hall was in early times the scene of events the most prominent in the pages of our history. In the year 1360, on king Edward the Third's return into England, after the treaty of Bretigni, he and his nobility were splendidly entertained here by John the captive French monarch, who was then a prisoner in the Tower; and in 1399 the unfortunate Richard here resigned his crown into the hands of Henry of Lancaster; an act which in after-ages produced so much civil discord, and drained the country of its best and noblest blood.

Richard the Second, and most of the succeeding kings down to

* See Appendix to Part I. ^b Rot. Claus. 16 Hen. III. m. 8. ^c Ibid. 17 Hen. III. m. 10.

^d *De mensis in aulâ Turris Lond'.*—Mandatum est H. de Pateshull' thesaurario domini regis quod faciat habere constabulario Turris London' denarios ad tabulas emendas ad mensas inde faciend' ad magnum deisium regis in magnâ aulâ ibidem; et ex quo rex scierit quantum ei ad hoc liberaverit, litteras regis de liberate ei habere faciet. Teste Rege apud Windes' xiiij. die Aprilis.—*Rot. Claus. 20. Hen. III. m. 14.*

the second Charles, repaired to the Tower with their whole court, and took up their residence there for a short time previous to the ceremony of their coronations; and on these occasions many royal feasts were given in this building to the nobility and others who came to pay their homage to their new sovereign.

At what period the Great Hall was first allowed to fall into decay is unknown, but it seems to have been in a dilapidated state as early as the reign of queen Elizabeth,^a and in all probability was soon afterwards entirely taken down.

The King's Chamber, which appears to have adjoined the Great Hall, is also a subject of frequent mention in ancient records,^b but the most remarkable notice of it is in the time of that great promoter of the arts, king Henry the Third, who directed that it should be adorned with a painting of the story of Antiochus.^c

The site of these and other parts of the ancient palace is now chiefly occupied by the buildings of

THE ORDNANCE OFFICE.

The Tower appears, at a very early period, to have been the principal magazine of warlike stores in the kingdom. In the fifteenth year of the reign of king John, Geoffrey de Mandeville being commanded to resign the Tower of London to the archdeacon of Huntingdon; he was ordered also to deliver up all the prisoners, arms, and other stores there.^d In the time of king Henry the Third, we find various notices as well concerning engines, arms and other instruments repositied in the Tower, as respecting payments for materials, and to smiths and other artificers employed there in making them :^e in the second year of his reign, the archdeacon of Durham was directed to send to the Tower of London twenty-six suits of armour, five iron

^a See the plan of the Tower, taken in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

^b Rot. Claus. de anno 14 Reg. Joh. m. 3, 4.—Ibid. 6 Hen. III. m. 4, &c.

^c *De picturâ faciendâ in camerâ regis in Turri Lond'.*—Mandatum est Edwardo de Westm' quod depingi faciat historiam Antioch' in camerâ regis Turris Lond', sicut ei dicet Thom' Esperuir; et custum quod ad hoc posuerit, rex ei faciat allocari. Teste Rege apud Wint' v. die Junii. Per ipsum regem. Rot. Claus. 35 Hen. III. m. 11.

^d Rot. Claus. 15 Hen. III. m. 5. et Patent. ejusdem anni, p. 1. m. 6.

^e Vide Rot. Claus. temp. Regis Hen. III. viz. de ann. 2. m. 13.—5. m. 4, 9, 12.—6. m. 4.—8. p. 1. m. 15. et p. 2. m. 2.—9. m. 8, 9, 10, 17.—12. m. 8.—17. m. 17.—19. m. 15.—39. m. 7. d.—53. m. 6.

cuirasses, one iron collar, three pairs of iron fetters, and nine iron helmets, which had been left in his charge by king John, in the eighteenth year of his reign :^a in the fifth and ninth years of the same king, orders were given for taking certain engines from the Tower to the castle of Dover,^b and for bringing and repositing there, others which had been used at the sieges of the castles of Biham^c and Bedford ;^d and in the year 1342, when king Edward the Third was prosecuting his wars with France, we find that certain great engines were taken from the Tower to Sandwich, with a view to their accompanying the king's army ; but there not being a sufficient number of ships, they were left behind ; and orders were subsequently directed to the lieutenant of the Tower, and to the king's chief carpenter, commanding them to arrest vessels enough for the purpose, and bring them back to the Tower.^e

In the reign of king Henry the Third the principal officer seems to have been the "Balistarius," or provider and keeper of the cross-bows. He was appointed by the king's letters patent, and received wages of twelvepence per diem,^f was provided also with a suit consisting of a doublet and surcoat furred with lambskin,^g and had an allowance for three servants.^h The last mention we find of this office is in the reign of king Henry the Sixth, when it was granted to Baldwin Jacobson for the term of life.ⁱ

Another officer was the "Attiliator balistarum," or furnisher of harness and accoutrements for the cross-bows. He was likewise appointed by letters patent,^k and his wages, in the reigns of king Henry the Third, and Edward the First, were seven pence halfpenny per diem,^l being also provided with a suitable robe.^m

^a Rot. Claus. 2. Hen. III. p. 1. m. 13.

^b Ibid. 5. Hen. III. m. 12.

^c Ibid.

^d Rot. Claus. 9. Hen. III. p. 2. m. 2.

^e *Fœdera*, vol. ii. pars ii. N. E.

^f Rot. Liberat. 11 Hen. III. m. 4.

^g *H. dei gratia vicecomitibus London'.* Præcipimus vobis quod habere faciatis Willielmo balistario, moranti in Turri London' per præceptum nostrum, unam robam, scilicet, tunicam et supertunicam de viridi vel de pennat', ulpa de precio xxvj. denar', cum fururâ agminâ ; et computabitur vobis ad scaccarium, T. meipso apud Westm' iij. die Martii.—*Rot. Claus. 9 Hen. III. p. 2. m. 9.*

^h Rot. Liberat. 46 Hen. III. m. 16.

ⁱ Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 18.

^k Rot. Pat. 35 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 11.

^l Rot. Liberat. 1 Edw. I. m. 3, 6.

^m Rot. Claus. 45 Hen. III. m. 6.

At later periods several other officers are named, who also held their appointment by the king's letters patent: such were the "Galeator,"^a who, as the name implies, had the providing and care of the helmets; the king's Armourer,^b the Bowyer,^c and the Fletcher;^d whose offices were to provide and keep the armour, the bows, and the arrows.

In the fifteenth century we find these different branches under the direction of a principal officer, styled 'the Master of the King's Ordnance,' who was generally appointed for life, and received two shillings per diem for himself, and was allowed sixpence per diem for his clerk, and sixpence per diem for a valet.*

In the reign of king Henry the Sixth, Thomas Vaughan, esquire, the then master, presented a petition to his majesty, stating "That for asmuche as ther is noon housing certaynly assigned for youre ordenaunce to be kept, for lak wherof ther hath growe grete hurt and dayly doth unto the said ordenaunce and other stuffe longing to his said office," and in consideration thereof he prayed his majesty to grant for its use, "all the grounde and soille called ye Tour Wharf," from the Watergate of the Tower, now called the Traitor's Gate, unto the gate of St. Catherine's, together with "all maner of howsing and other appurtenaunces sette uppon the same," which was accordingly granted under the royal signature.^f

The business of the Ordnance was formerly transacted in some small houses behind St. Peter's chapel; but in the reign of king James the Second, part of the old buildings of the palace were taken down, and a new office erected: this having been destroyed by fire in 1788, the present handsome structure was soon after raised on its site; and, besides the immediate buildings of the offices, a very large portion of the interior of the fortress is also now occupied by armories and storehouses and the residences of different offices of the establishment.

* Rot. Pat. 50 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 4.

^b Ibid. 1 Rich. II. p. 2. m. 30.

^c Ibid. 1 Hen. IV. p. 2. m. 27. et 13 Edw. IV. p. 2. m. 12. ^d Ibid. 18 Rich. II. p. 2. m. 12.

^e Rot. Claus. 1 Edw. IV. m. 2.—2 Edw. IV. m. 1.—18 Edw. IV. m. 27, et 22 et 23 Edw. IV. m. 19.

^f Brevia de Privato Sigillo, de anno 30 Hen. VI. in Turr. Lond.

From the *Lanthorn Tower*, or the *King's Lodgings*, the line of the inner enclosure was continued westward to

THE RECORD TOWER.

In the survey which was taken of the Tower in the reign of queen Elizabeth, this structure is denominated the *Hall Tower*, from its contiguity to the great hall; but in subsequent notices, it is called the *Record*, and, sometimes, the *Wakefield Tower*.^a It is a large circular building, the lower part of which appears to be a work of considerable antiquity; and, with the exception of the *White-tower*, is unquestionably the oldest portion of the fortress now extant. There can be but little doubt that this building formed one of the additions made to the Tower by king William Rufus; and adjoining it, and extending about an hundred feet in a northerly direction, is a massive stone wall of considerable height, being also a remain of the fortifications with which that monarch surrounded the works erected by William the Conqueror;^b though an erroneous opinion has been entertained of its having formed part of the ancient boundary of the city.^c

The *Record Tower* consists of only a basement and first story,

^a It is a common opinion that it derived the title of the '*Wakefield Tower*' from having been made the prison of persons taken at the battle of *Wakefield*; but this seems to be altogether void of foundation. The building does not appear to have acquired the name till of late years; and, besides, we have no knowledge of any prisoners having been brought to the Tower on that occasion.

^b See page 6.

^c At the trial of sir Jervase Elwyas, as an accomplice in the murder of sir Thomas Overbury, a prisoner in the Tower in the reign of king James the First, an exception was taken to the indictment, on the ground that it alleged the act to have been committed within the city of London; whereas, the Tower, as it was endeavoured to be proved, was in the county of *Middlesex*; but the counsel for the prosecution stated, in opposition to this, that that part of the Tower, in which sir Thomas was murdered, was within the old city wall; a part of which, they said, still existed and shewed, that nearly one half of the fortress was within the boundary of the city; and the court having directed this to be inquired into, it was certified, that such was the case; whereupon the objection was over-ruled, and sir Jervase condemned and hanged. But, notwithstanding this grave decision, it is clear that this wall is only a remnant of some of the most ancient fortifications of the Tower, and bears no similarity, either in materials or workmanship to what is most decidedly known to have been the nature of the city enclosure: a fine and perfect remain of which still exists on *Tower-hill*.

each forming an octagonal apartment; the former about twenty-three, and the latter twenty-eight feet in diameter.^a On the ground floor the walls are about thirteen feet in thickness, and in these are eight recesses, the arches of which are semicircular; and the whole of the structure, as high as the first floor, is formed of regular courses of fine well squared masonry.

It is evident that the upper part of the building has been taken down and re-erected, and, from the style of architecture, this appears to have been done about the latter end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. In the walls of this floor there are also large recesses, but they assume a very different character to those underneath, being much higher, and having pointed arches. This upper story, which consists of a fine lofty chamber,^b is fitted up with presses, and has long been the repository of the ancient records of the kingdom, but at what time the building was first appropriated to this use is unknown: it is certain, however, that the records were deposited here in the early part of the reign of king Henry the Eighth, and it is most likely that they were much before that period.

The earliest records now extant in the Tower are denominated the *Cartæ Antiquæ*, being forty-one ancient rolls, on which is preserved a miscellaneous collection of charters and grants made, principally to ecclesiastics, from the time of king Edward the Confessor to the commencement of the thirteenth century.

The grand series of the rolls of chancery preserved in this repository, begins with the first year of the reign of king John: several, however, of his time are much mutilated, or altogether wanting; but from the accession of his son, king Henry the Third, the collection is generally perfect, and is continued at the Tower to the death of king Edward the Fourth.^c These rolls, which are arranged chronologically, and referred to in a general calendar, are upwards of

^a In the survey of the Tower made in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, the distance from the Lanthorn Tower, or, as it is there called, the 'New Tower,' to the 'Tower of the Kyng's Records,' is said to be 106 feet; which said tower and 'the lodgyng adjoining the same, all for the Kyng's Records,' are stated to be in want of repair.—See *Appendix to Part I.*

^b It is a common tradition, though not to be traced to any authentic source, that this room was the scene of the supposed murder of king Henry the Sixth.

^c From this period they are kept at the Rolls Chapel.

2200 in number ; the most important of which may be briefly described in the following alphabetical order.

ALMAIN ROLLS.—The earliest of these relates to negotiations and alliances between king Edward the First of England, and Adolph king of the Romans, John duke of Brabant, Guy earl of Flanders, John earl of Holland, &c. from the twenty-second year of his reign to the treaty with France, with which the roll concludes, in the thirty-first. The next bearing this title relate to the grand confederacy formed by Edward the Third against Philip de Valois, for the crown of France. They commence with the eleventh, and end with the fifteenth year of his reign. Some of the most important instruments contained in these rolls are printed in the *Fœdera*.

CHARTER ROLLS.—These rolls begin with the first year of king John, and terminate with the reign of Edward the Fourth. They contain grants of liberties, privileges, and possessions, to religious and civil corporations, and also to individuals ; as charters of foundation and incorporation, grants of lands, markets and fairs, free warren, &c. A calendar to these rolls has been printed under the direction of His Majesty's commissioners on the public records.

CLOSE ROLLS.—The earliest of the Close Rolls now extant is of the sixth year of the reign of king John ; from which period to the end of Edward the Fourth, the series of them in the Tower is generally perfect. On the face of these rolls are entered many important documents touching the royal prerogatives, the revenue, and the different branches of the judicature,—orders for the observance of truces and treaties, and concerning aids, subsidies, tallages, restitution of possessions, assignments of dower, acceptances of homage, and repairs, fortifying and provisioning of castles,—writs and mandates respecting the coin of the realm, the affairs of the royal household, and the payment of salaries and stipends ; commitments, pardons, and deliveries of state prisoners, &c. On the backs of them are summonses to and prorogations of parliaments and great councils ; writs of summons for the performance of military and naval services ; copies of letters to foreign princes and states ; proclamations ; prohibitions ; orders for regulating the coinage of the kingdom, and the sale of wines and other necessaries ; for receiving knighthood, providing ships, raising and arraying forces, furnishing

provisions, and paying knights, citizens, and burgesses for attendance in parliament; liveries and seisins of lands; inrolments of private deeds, and a variety of other instruments: indeed, they contain a fund of information, the diversity and importance of which render them some of the most interesting of our national records. Those of the reign of king Henry III. are particularly valuable and curious. That monarch was a great lover and patron of the arts, and the Close Rolls of his time abound with entries illustrative of their coeval state and progress: they contain a variety of instructions relative to paintings, sculptures, and other works of art, and the repairing and ornamenting of palaces, royal chapels, and other buildings; there are also many curious orders respecting presents to be provided for foreign princes and ambassadors, and offerings against high occasions. Henry was also a prince whose observances of the chief religious festivals were remarkably grand, and the mandates which appear on these rolls, concerning dresses, and various preparations and provisions to be made against their celebration, throw considerable light on the habits, customs, and superstitions of that æra. The want of printed calendars to these rolls has hitherto kept their value and importance from being generally known: it is, however, to be hoped that the commissioners on the public records, who have done so much service to the country by publishing copies of some, and repertories to others of our most valuable muniments, will not consider the objects of their appointment accomplished till they have also laid open this inexhaustible source of general information.

CONVENTIONES PACIS.—A roll bearing this title, of the forty-third year of Henry III. consists of treaties between that prince and Lewis king of France; negociations touching the marriage between Beatrice, Henry's second daughter, and John, eldest son of John duke of Britagne, and much information relative to the controversy with the earl and countess of Leicester.

CORONATION ROLLS.—These contain the whole proceedings at that of king Edward the Second, and the claims and allowances at those of Richard the Second, and of Henry the Fourth and Fifth.

EXTRACTA DONATIONUM,—which are inrolled abstracts of gifts

and grants, begin with the third year of king Edward the Second, and end with the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third.

FINE ROLLS.—The Fine Rolls commence with the sixth year of the reign of king John, and are continued at the Tower to the death of Edward the Fourth. They are accounts of fines paid on the passing and renewing of charters and grants; as also for exoneration from knighthood, the performance of services, &c.

FRENCH ROLLS.—These begin with the sixteenth year of king Henry III. and the series of them at the Tower terminates with the reign of Edward IV. They relate chiefly to transactions with the court of France, and to the dominions which the kings of England had in that country. Calendars to these and to the Norman and Gascoign rolls were published by Mr. Carte, in 1743, in two folio volumes, but they are very defective.

GASCOIGN ROLLS.—The Gascon rolls, which commence with the twenty-sixth year of king Henry III. and terminate with the reign of king Edward the Fourth, relate to the affairs of that duchy whilst under the dominion of the kings of England. A calendar to them was published with that to the French rolls.

LIBERATE ROLLS.—These begin with the second year of king John's reign, and end with that of Edward the Fourth. They contain precepts to the treasurer and other great officers of the Exchequer for the payment of pensions, salaries, and stipends, and of various expenses of the state, and of the royal household; and occasionally writs to sheriffs for the delivery of lands, &c. which had been extended. The earliest of them, particularly those of king Henry the Third's reign, like the Close rolls of the same period, form a most interesting species of record; but after the reign of king Edward the First they become less and less interesting.

NORMAN ROLLS.—The first rolls concerning the duchy of Normandy are of the second, fourth, and sixth years of king John; but, that unhappy prince having lost its dominion, they are discontinued from his time till the recovery of it by Henry the Fifth. A calendar to these rolls was published with that to the French rolls.

PARLIAMENT ROLLS.—The rolls of parliament preserved in the Tower commence with the fifth year of king Edward the Second,

and end with the reign of Edward the Fourth. These were printed entire by order of government in the early part of the late reign, in six volumes folio.

PATENT ROLLS.—The series of these valuable records begins with the third year of the reign of king John, and is continued at the Tower to the death of Edward the Fourth. They contain grants of liberties, privileges, lands, wardships, and offices; restitutions of temporalities; licenses of alienation; confirmations of previous charters and grants; matters relative to the prerogatives of the crown, the revenue, and the different branches of the judicature; appointments and powers of ambassadors; ratifications of treaties and truces; letters of protection and safe conduct; creations of nobility; special liveries, and all licenses, &c. which pass the great seal.—On the backs of them are commissions of inquiry, judicial proceedings, &c. A calendar to these rolls was published in 1802, by order of His Majesty's Commissioners on the public records; but it is so very defective that it does not, on an average, take notice of a fifth part of the documents entered on each roll.

PERAMBULATION ROLLS.—These are distinct rolls, containing perambulations of forests, chiefly in the seventh, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth years of king Edward the First.

REDISSEISIN ROLLS.—These contain writs to and proceedings of sheriffs concerning restitution of property to persons who had been unlawfully dispossessed. They begin with the fourteenth year of king Edward I. and end with the thirty-ninth of Henry the Sixth.

ROMAN ROLLS.—These consist of letters to the pope and cardinals, and relate chiefly to the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom, from the thirty-fourth year of king Edward the First to the death of king Edward the Fourth.

SCOTCH ROLLS.—The rolls which relate to the affairs of Scotland commence in the nineteenth year of king Edward the First's reign, and are continued at the Tower to the end of king Edward the Fourth. They have recently been printed verbatim, and published in two folio volumes, by order of His Majesty's commissioners on the public records.

STATUTE ROLLS.—They begin with the statute of Gloucester, passed in the sixth year of king Edward I. and the series of them

at the Tower terminates with the ninth year of king Edward IV. These have also been recently printed and published under the direction of the record commission.

TREATIES AND TRUCES.—These are distinct rolls containing treaties, truces, and conventions, in the fourteenth and eighteenth years of king Edward I., the thirty-fourth of Edward III., and the fourteenth of Edward IV. The three latter concern Norway, France, and the Hanse Towns. The principal articles on them are printed in the *Fœdera*.

WELSH ROLLS.—The rolls relating to the principality of Wales begin with the tenth year of king Edward the First, the æra of its entire subjection to the crown of England, and end with the twenty-third year of the same king.

Besides the rolls comprehended in the above-mentioned general series, there is a vast collection of other records preserved in the Tower, of an equally important nature. Among these may be particularly noticed the Inquisitions post mortem,^a and Ad quod damnum;^b writs and returns of knights, citizens, and burgesses to parliament; the hundred rolls, and forest claims; rolls containing the homage of the nobility and great men of Scotland to king Edward the First, and the taxation roll^c of the same reign; there are also

^a The series of these records, which commences with the reign of king Henry III. and is continued at the Tower to the end of Richard III. is arranged chronologically, in bundles. They were taken by virtue of writs directed to the escheators of the several counties or districts, who were to inquire by jury what lands any persons died seized of, and by what rents or services they were holden: they shew also the quantity, quality, and value of the lands; and specify the day on which the tenant died, and the name and age of the next heir. These inquisitions afford the best proof of the descents of families and lands, and are a most valuable species of evidence in questions touching real property. Calendars to those of the four first reigns have been printed and published under the direction of His Majesty's commissioners on the public records, and the remainder are now in the press.

^b These begin with the first year of king Edward II. and end in the thirty-eighth of Henry VI. They were taken by virtue of writs directed to the escheators, on any petition being made for a grant of a market or fair, licence to alienate lands, or for any other privilege, in order to ascertain whether such grant, if made, would be prejudicial to the king or to any of his subjects. A calendar to them was published with that to the charter rolls.

^c This is a taxation of ecclesiastical benefices, made in the pontificate of Pope Nicholas the Fourth, 1292, by which all taxes to the king and to the pope were regulated: the statutes of colleges, founded before the Reformation, were also interpreted by this record; and according to it, benefices under a certain value are exempted from the restrictions in the statute of the 21st of Henry VIII. concerning pluralities.

treaties of peace; letters of foreign princes and states; instructions to ambassadors; papal bulls; petitions to parliament, and to the king and council; privy-seal warrants; signet bills, and a great variety of writs, and miscellaneous rolls and documents.

These are all comprised under the title of the records of the court of chancery,^a and they form a collection of memorials of the highest national and individual importance: indeed, they are the groundwork of the constitution; the basis of the laws; and a source, without the aid of which "no story of the nation can be written or proved."^b

The records of the king's courts have been termed by parliament "not only the records of the king and kingdom, but the evidence of every man's particular right:"^c they have also been regarded as part of the royal treasure; and hence, the place in which they were kept in the Tower was, for a long series of years, denominated the king's treasury; as the repositories of the records belonging to the courts at Westminster are to this day styled the treasuries of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer.

In the reign of king Edward the Fourth, in a case respecting the office of chamberlain of the Exchequer, it is said, "*cest office est une grand office, car il gardera le treasour del Roy, s, les recordes;*"^d and in the recital of queen Elizabeth's warrant to the then master of the rolls, for removing certain records of chancery to the Tower, they are called "a principal membre of the threasure belonging to ourself, to our corone, and realme."^e

The precise year in which the records of chancery were first lodged in the Tower cannot be ascertained: it should seem, however, that this took place between the twentieth and thirty-third years of the reign of king Edward the First; and before that time, that their

^a Besides the records of Chancery, there are deposited in the Tower the bills, answers, and depositions in that court, down to the year 1714; there are also many records of the courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer; and in the year 1811, the records of the court of Admiralty down to the beginning of the present century, were likewise lodged there.

^b Chamberlayne's *Angl. Not.* edit. 16. p. 229, &c.

^c Rot. Parl. 46 Edw. III. n° 43. Prynne 4 Inst. 51.

^d Year Book 11 Edw. IV. Trin. T. pl. 1. title "Grant du Roy."

^e Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. i. pars 1. p. 656.

principal repository was the king's treasury at the New Temple, where they were preserved in a chest.

In the nineteenth year of the reign of king Edward the First, William de Marchia, his treasurer, being commanded to open the chest containing the rolls of chancery at the New Temple, took out certain records and transmitted them to the king,^a who, attended by his chancery, was then in Scotland, engaged as umpire between the competitors for the crown of that nation. In the following year, on Edward's return to London, together with Robert, bishop of Bath and Wells, the chancellor, new keys to the above-mentioned chest were delivered to John de Langeton, and also the patent roll of the thirty-ninth, and the charter roll of the twenty-second years of king Henry III. being those which were taken out of the chest and sent to the king in the preceding year.^b

About thirteen years after this we find the records mentioned as preserved in the Tower of London;^c and hence we derive our information concerning their being first lodged within the walls of that fortress.

Although, from the period of this first removal, the Tower was the principal, it does not, till some years afterwards, appear to have been the only repository of the chancery records. In the succeeding reign the castles of Pontefract, Tutbury, and Tonbridge, and the house of the Friars Preachers, in London, are noticed as places, wherein charters, writings, and other muniments belonging to the crown were preserved.

Anciently, when the court and parliament were holden at places distant from the capital, the chancery usually followed, and on these occasions it was customary for some abbot and convent to find a horse for the conveyance of the records.

In the year 1298, the Scots, roused by the valour and patriotism of the famous Wallace, made a desperate effort to redeem themselves from the vassalage to which they had lately been reduced by the English monarch; and Edward, in consequence, was obliged to put himself at the head of his forces, in order to maintain his newly acquired

^a Rot. Claus. 20 Edw. I. m. 13 dors. *Fœdera*, vol. i. pars. 1. p. 757.

^b *Ibid.*

^c Rot. Claus. 33 Edw. I. m. 3. *Placita Parliamentaria* 33 Edw. I. p. 284.

superiority. On this account, the courts were removed by ordinance to York:^a and on their return to London, the king 'being in great need of a strong and steady horse to carry his rolls of chancery,' commanded the abbot of Furness to send him one, by a person of his house, to be delivered at York, on the feast of St. James, to John de Langeton his chancellor.^b

In the sixth year of king Edward III. the abbot and convent of Beaulieu were directed to provide a horse for the like purpose, and to send it to the king's chancery on the morrow of the Ascension;^c which the abbot accordingly did, by one of his monks; but the animal being deemed insufficient, the monk promised to send a better by the feast of St. John the Baptist, which was done, and the horse accepted.^d

In the following year, Edward, impelled by the hope of regaining the superiority over Scotland, which had been conceded by the regency before he assumed the reins of government, prepared to invade that kingdom and replace Baliol on the throne. The parliament^e and courts,^f in consequence, sat at York; and the king having dispatched Theobald Poleyn, servant of the rolls of chancery, and John de Tiddeswell, clerk, to bring the rolls, writs, and memoranda, from his treasury in the Tower of London, to York, sent his mandate to the abbot and convent of Stratford, directing them to provide a sumpter horse and servant for their conveyance.^g

In the fifteenth year of king Richard the Second, the courts were removed to York, by virtue of a proclamation; and all writs original and judicial were made returnable there, on the morrow of St. John the Baptist;^h on which day the king and council were at Nottingham;ⁱ whence they proceeded to York. On this occasion the king assigned Henry Maupas, John Barnetby, and John del Rolles, to arrest and take such and as many horses and carts as would be sufficient for the carriage of the rolls of chancery from London to York;^k whither accordingly they appear to have been taken under a strong

^a Rot. Parl. 26 Edw. I. m. 1.—Vol. i. p. 143. ^b Rot. Claus. 28 Edw. I. m. 7. d.

^c Ibid. 6 Edw. III. m. 26. d. ^d Ibid. ^e Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 176.

^f Rot. Claus. 7 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 17, 22. ^g Rot. Claus. 7 Edw. III. p. i. m. 12. dors.

^h Rot. Claus. 15 Rich. II. m. 3. d. ⁱ Ibid. m. 3.

^k Rot. Pat. 15 Rich. II. m. 7.

escort, viâ Lenton, near Nottingham; and in the following year the treasurer and barons of the exchequer were directed to allow to John de Ravenser, keeper of the hanaper, 105*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* for various expenses attending their conveyance from London to Lenton, and thence to York; and for the recarriage of them from York to London.^a

In the twenty-second year of the same reign, the parliament met at Shrewsbury, and the rolls of chancery were taken thither from London; as appears by a similar precept to the treasurer and barons, directing them to allow to William de Waltham, clerk of the hanaper, twelve pounds, for the carriage of the rolls of chancery, from London to Shrewsbury to the parliament; and for their reconveyance to London.^b

Between this period and the reign of king Edward the Fourth numerous instances occur of abbots and convents being directed to provide a horse to carry the rolls and memoranda of chancery; but they do not inform us whence, or to what place they were to be removed.

In what particular part of the Tower of London the records of chancery were first lodged, cannot decidedly be ascertained, nor has it hitherto been discovered at what period the present Record Tower first became appropriated to the purposes of their preservation and custody; there is some reason, however, for believing, that a portion of the White Tower was originally set apart for their reception, and that it continued to be their repository till about the middle of the fourteenth century.

In the year 1360, the rolls and other memoranda of chancery are said to have been removed *extra magnam turrim*, and deposited in another place; in consequence of that part having by the council been assigned for the residence of John, king of France; who was then a prisoner in England. This appears by a writ,^c dated at Reading, on the twenty-eighth of April, commanding Richard de Ravensere, keeper of the hanaper, to pay sixty shillings to John de Barton, servant of the rolls of the king's chancery, for his costs and expenses

^a Rot. Claus. 16 Rich. II. m. 10.

^b Ibid. 22 Rich. II. p. 1. m. 13.

^c Rot. Claus. 34 Edw. III. m. 33.

in the said removal; and in repairing the chests, and making new closets for the rolls and memoranda to be kept in.

On the twentieth of August following, a writ^a was directed to William Lamhith, clerk of the works in the Tower, commanding him to survey and repair the roof, doors, and windows of the house there, which the king had provided for the custody of the rolls and other memoranda of his chancery; and also to make three new closets in the same, for their better preservation. Two years after this, a like mandate^b was sent to William Sleford, clerk of the works, directing him forthwith to repair and amend all defects in the roof, doors, windows, locks, and keys, of the tower,^c in which were repositied the rolls and memoranda of the king's chancery.

With respect to the arrangement and methodizing of the national records; the first instances we have of the attention of the crown being engaged by that subject, occur in the reign of king Edward the Second. That monarch by his writ, dated at Westminster in the fourteenth year of his reign, directed the treasurer and barons of the exchequer to employ a suitable number of skilful clerks to look over, arrange, and methodize such rolls, books, and memoranda, of the times of his progenitors, as were then in his treasury, and in the Tower of London; in order that they might thenceforth be more properly preserved, for his and the public weal.^d

Two years afterwards letters patent were directed to the treasurer and barons, commanding that all papal bulls, charters, writings, and memoranda, concerning the king's state and liberties in England, Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and Ponthieu, then remaining under their custody in the treasury, the wardrobe, (in the Tower) and elsewhere, should be calendared and arranged at the expense of the crown; and for that purpose, they were ordered to employ as many experienced clerks as would be necessary, and to remunerate them out of the treasury.^e

In the nineteenth year of the same king, Robert de Hoton, and Thomas Sibthorp, who had then recently been appointed to examine, arrange, and put in order the king's charters, writings, and all other

^a Rot. Claus. 34 Edw. III. m. 15.

^b Ibid. 36 Edw. II. m. 25.

^c The tower, here spoken of, was, probably, that in which the records are now preserved.

^d Rot. Claus. 14 Edw. II. m. 22.

^e Ibid. 16 Edw. II. m. 19. d.

muniments in the castles of Pontefract, Tutbury, and Tonbridge; also such as had lately been brought into, and were then in the Tower, and those in the house of the Friars Preachers, London,^a were commanded to deliver all the rolls of their arrangement, if any remained in their custody, and likewise the keys of the chests and coffers, to the treasurer and chamberlains of the exchequer.^b

The example of this monarch, in providing for the safety and classification of his records, seems to have been but little regarded by his successors, for many generations: measures, indeed, were occasionally adopted to secure them from perishing;^c laws were made to protect them from erasure, falsification, and embezzlement;^d and it was ordained that they should be accessible to all the king's subjects;^e yet no steps appear to have been taken, before the reign of queen Elizabeth, to render them effectually beneficial to the public. That æra, however, may be said to have given birth, in this country, to the study of antiquities; and it produced several great and learned men who knew how to appreciate these venerable treasures, and who drew the attention of the crown to the deplorable condition in which they then lay. An inquiry was in consequence instituted, and some salutary measures were adopted for their future preservation and arrangement.

About this time the custody of the records was committed to Mr. William Bowyer, a man distinguished not less by his talents than his industry; and how highly he merited the trust reposed in him, was afterwards evinced by the zeal and perseverance with which he executed the duties of his office. To him must be attributed the credit of having first reduced the records in the Tower to any tolerable state of order; and he is said to have personally devoted upwards of eight years to that laborious task, and to have collected with his own hand, six folio volumes of repertories to the most valuable muniments under his custody.

The care that queen Elizabeth manifested for the preservation of the public records of her kingdom may be enumerated among the benefits for which posterity stands indebted to her. The wise provisions, however, of that age were overturned, through the negligence

^a Rot. Pat. 16 Edw. II. p. 1. m. 28. ^b Rot. Class. 19 Edw. II. m. 28. ^c See page 229.

^d Stat. 8 Rich. II. cap. 4. et 8 Hen. VI. cap. 12. ^e Rot. Parl. 46 Edw. III. N° 43.

or supineness of persons to whom the custody of these ancient monuments of our history, laws, and government, was subsequently intrusted. It is true that the learned Selden, appointed keeper by parliament in the year 1643, and the famous Prynne, who succeeded him soon after king Charles's restoration, were both great and laborious antiquaries, and well acquainted with the importance of the treasures confided to their care; but, it is probable that the records had refallen into confusion before their times, and little seems to have been done, even by them, towards restoring them to order. In short, it appears that the great mass of rolls and documents in the Tower had been allowed to return to the chaos in which they were found by the indefatigable Bowyer, and the labors of that good man were altogether lost to posterity.

Such was the state of the public records at the commencement of the last century; when Charles lord Halifax called the attention of parliament to a subject, in which the honor and interests of the country were so deeply involved. The effect of that nobleman's representation to the House of Lords, was the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the national records, and to recommend such measures as it might deem expedient for their future preservation, and for rendering them practically useful to the country. This committee was revived from time to time till the close of the succeeding reign; during which period, its operations, though limited, were attended with many very beneficial results. Besides what was done in other offices,^a the most valuable part of the rolls, bundles of inquisitions, &c.^b in the Tower were collected and arranged in

^a The inquiry was first instituted in 1703, and between that time and the year 1723, the Lords Committees directed their attention to the Parliament Office; the Tower; State Paper Office; Chapter House; Court of Wards; Court of Requests; and the Crown Office, in the Court of King's Bench.

^b The loose miscellaneous records and papers, of which there were immense heaps in the White Tower, seem to have attracted but little notice on this occasion; nor was it till after the appointment of Samuel Lysons, esq., the late keeper of the records, that the value of them appears to have been discovered: since that period, however, they have been carefully sorted, and a multiplicity of royal and other letters; petitions to parliament, and to the king and council; writs and returns to parliaments; rolls of accounts; proceedings in the Courts of Chancery, and a great variety of curious and interesting documents, have been rescued from a state of filth and disorder, and have since been cleaned and methodized. An additional chamber in the uppermost story of the White Tower, which was obtained in 1811, at the instance of the same officer, has been

the chronological order in which they now stand; calendars were also made to such of them as were thought most essentially useful; and the offices and record chambers, by command of the queen, were repaired and fitted up in a handsome and convenient manner, under the direction of sir Christopher Wren, the surveyor-general of her majesty's works.

Notwithstanding these prudent measures, more effectual steps were yet necessary, for making the contents of our national repositories known, and useful to the public; an end which could only be attained by the printing and circulating of repertories to such of them as possessed sufficient importance.*

The first work deserving of notice,^b that appeared of this kind, was a calendar to the Gascoign, Norman, and French rolls, published in 1742, in two folio volumes, by Mr. Carte, from the manuscript calendars in the Record Office, under the title of *Catalogue des Rolls Gascons, Normans, et François, conservés dans les archives de la Tour de Londres, tiré d'après celui du garde des dites archives; et contenant le précis et sommaire de tous les titres qui s'y trouvent concernant la Guienne, la Normandie, et les autres provinces de la France sujettes autrefois aux Rois d'Angleterre*. The reception which these volumes experienced both at home and abroad, on their first publication, and the high esteem in which they continued to be holden, excited hopes that the example would have been followed with respect to other of our public records, which were of far greater and more general utility; but

fitted up for the arrangement of Chancery proceedings, &c. and the records in this building are now reduced to a perfect state of classification.

* A small work was published in 1622, by Mr. Thomas Powell, entitled, *A Repertory of records in the Exchequer, and directions for search of those that are there; as likewise, in the Chancery and Tower, with the accustomed fees, &c.* This was afterwards enlarged and published in quarto, but merited very little notice; and *Fabian Philip's List of the public records of the kingdom*, as well as *Sir Julius Caesar's Account of the Court of Requests*, was of the same general character. Bishop Nicholson's notices, in the third part of his *English Historical Library*, relative to the contents of several record offices, were also too cursory to be materially useful. The *General table of the records of the Court of Chancery; of the Common Law; of the Exchequer; and of the Duchy Court of Lancaster*; printed in the report of the Committee appointed to view the Cottonian Library; and the *Index to the Records*, printed in an octavo volume in 1739,—may be said to have carried with them a little more consequence in their day.

^b The same hand which drew up this calendar, also compiled others of the *Cartæ Antiquæ*; the Papal bulls, and the Welsh and Scotch rolls, in the Tower. These were published by sir Joseph Ayloffe, bart. in 1774, in one volume, quarto.

such a work was too great and too expensive to be undertaken by any individual: it was of a national, not of a private nature; and its accomplishment was destined to add to the lustre of the present times, and to render the name and memory of his late majesty more admired, beloved, and revered, to the latest posterity.

In the year 1800, the state of the public records of the kingdom was taken into consideration by parliament, and the house of commons presented an address to the king, praying 'that his majesty would be graciously pleased to give such directions as his majesty in his great wisdom should think fit, for their better preservation, arrangement, and more convenient use;' assuring his majesty 'that whatever extraordinary expenses might be incurred by the directions which his majesty should think fit to give on that occasion, should be cheerfully provided for, and made good, by his faithful Commons.'

Hereupon his majesty, by warrant under his sign manual, bearing date the nineteenth day of July, in the same year, appointed a committee with ample powers to carry into execution the several measures recommended in the said address: and, from that time to the present, this noble undertaking has been pursued in a manner becoming the name and dignity of the nation. The state and contents of every repository of records and muniments throughout the united kingdoms have been inquired into; copious calendars and indexes to some of the most important rolls and documents in the Tower have been printed and published;^a other valuable records have, through the medium of the press, been communicated entire to the public,^b and a corrected and greatly enlarged edition of that magnificent collection of records and state-papers denominated the *Fœdera* is now gradually making its appearance.

One most important consideration, however, with respect to the public records has hitherto been wholly neglected by the legislature. This chiefly applies to many of the most ancient rolls and documents

^a The Calendars which have been published are to the Charter and Patent Rolls, and to the Inquisitions post Mortem and Ad quod Dampnum.

^b These are the Statute, Scotch, and Hundred Rolls, and Pope Nicholas's Taxation roll, in the Tower; the Nonæ Rolls, in the Exchequer; Testa de Nevill and the Quo Warranto Rolls, in the Chapter House, Westminster.—The Parliament Rolls in the Tower, and a fac simile of Domesday Book, the original of which is preserved in the Chapter House, were printed and published soon after the accession of his late majesty king George the Third.

in the Tower,^a but particularly to that valuable species of records denominated the *Inquisitiones post mortem*, which are preserved in that repository. It has been the pernicious practice of former times, to wash over the face of any of these documents with an infusion of spirits and galls, whenever it was found necessary for them to be transcribed; and it is clear that in very many instances this system has been wantonly adhered to, when there was not the slightest occasion for such a measure. It has the momentary influence of bringing up the writing, and rendering a document legible, although, to a common eye, a letter before was scarcely to be discerned; but it has at the same time an equally powerful effect on the parchment or paper, and in course of time renders that as black as the ink itself. In this lamentable condition are many hundreds of the most important documents in the Tower, some of which are already quite illegible; others are every day approaching to the same state, and before the lapse of another age most of them may be totally useless. To prevent, therefore, the entire loss of these valuable muniments to posterity, the only effectual and satisfactory mode would be, the passing of an act of parliament for transcribing them; which might be done by empowering the commissioners on the public records to appoint commissioners under them in each of the offices where it might be deemed necessary; and these being competent and sworn, should make and verify transcripts of all such documents as might be found in danger of obliteration or decay; and such transcripts signed by them on every page should afterwards be sanctioned by the signatures of the lord chancellor, the master of the rolls, and the commissioners on the public records, and finally adopted and rendered evidence, by the same, or another act of parliament, made for that particular purpose.

As the knowledge and consequent esteem of our national records and muniments have increased through the measures adopted by the record commission, their use has every day become more general, and their authority more frequently consulted, both for literary and

^a There is not one of the ancient nobility of the realm who could prove, either his title to his estates, or to his rank as a peer, if they were to be called in question, without the aid of these national treasures; nor is there a person of landed property in the country that is not as vitally interested in their preservation.

legal* purposes. Indeed, the most sanguine expectations that could have been entertained concerning the advantages of this great national work, have been amply realized. From the sources here laid open, the laws, the history, and the constitution of the kingdom, are daily receiving elucidation ; and to the antiquary, the topographer, the genealogist, and to the nation in general, an inexhaustible mine of information is discovered, which, before, had lain buried in obscurity.

But to return more immediately to the records in the Tower.— They are confided to the care of a keeper, appointed by the master of the rolls, for life, in obedience to a warrant under the king's sign manual. The custody of the records has always been regarded as a charge of great honor and importance, and it has generally been conferred on men of eminent worth and learning, and particularly distinguished for a profound acquaintance with the history and antiquities of their country.

In the year 1604, Edward lord Bruce, then master of the rolls, claimed the right of appointing the keeper of the records of chancery in the Tower, and king James, in consequence, directed the lords of the privy council to take a hearing of the matter, and ' to consider unto whom the same did of right appertain, to the end that the keeping of the said records might be duly ordered, and possession thereof delivered to the party to which it should be found to belong.' The council thought fit to have the opinions of the lord chief justice of England, the lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, Mr. justice Gawdy, and Mr. justice Walmsley ; who, having at several times heard the arguments of the master of the rolls and Mr. Proby, the then keeper of the records, and their counsel, and ' having seen divers ancient records that might best inform them therein,' were of opinion that such of the said records as were of the chancery, or appertaining to the chancery, always had and should be under the charge of the master of the rolls for the time being, or of some person authorised by him ; but that the rest of the records in the Tower, as

* In questions respecting descents of families, titles, or estates, and rights or privileges belonging either to real property, offices, and public bodies, or to individuals, they are often of the greatest utility, and tend to set litigation at rest by affording clear and decisive evidence.

of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, and other courts,^a belonged to the custody of some one assigned by the king. In this opinion the lords of the privy council acquiesced, and an order was accordingly made that the custody of the said records which belonged to the chancery, should forthwith be yielded to the master of the rolls.^b

According therefore to this decision the custody of the records in the Tower would either be divided between one officer appointed by the king, and another assigned by the master of the rolls, or the appointment to their entire charge would be jointly in the crown and the said master. It was essential, however, to the security of the records, that, repositied as they necessarily must be in the same chambers, they should be under the care of one and the same person; and, forasmuch as the king provides for the keeper's salary and all the expenses of the establishment, the nomination has ever since very reasonably rested in his majesty; who, after making choice of a proper person, grants a warrant to the master of the rolls to admit him to the said office, and to receive his oath for the faithful discharge of its duties: after which his appointment is confirmed by the king's privy seal or letters patent.

In early times the records in general seem to have been chiefly under the control of the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer, and the custody of those belonging to the chancery for a long time afterwards formed part of the office of the master of the rolls. Thus, in the twentieth year of Edward the First, we find the king's treasurer directed to open the chest containing the records of chancery, and to send certain rolls to his master, who was then in Scotland; and in the succeeding reign directions were at several times given to the treasurer and chamberlains concerning their preservation and arrangement.

On the twenty-sixth of May, in the seventeenth year of Edward the Second, the king, with the assent of Robert de Baldock, arch-deacon of Canterbury, his chancellor, and of others of his council,

^a We might now add the great body of records of the court of Admiralty, which were removed to the Tower in 1811.

^b Lansdown MSS. in Mus. Brit. N° 163. fol. 111.

made Richard de Ayremynne master of the rolls, and William de Ayremynne, whom he succeeded in that office, delivered to him the keys of the chests, wherein the rolls of chancery were kept.^a In the following year on the fourth of July, the king, in the presence of the chancellor, committed the custody of the rolls to Henry de Cliff, one of the clerks of chancery; and on the morrow, before the chancellor and certain clerks of chancery, he was sworn, at the marble stone in the great hall at Westminster, to well and faithfully exercise the said custody;^b and the above-mentioned Richard de Ayremynne accordingly delivered to him the keys of the chests containing the rolls of chancery.^c This Henry de Cliff continued master of the rolls till his death, and was succeeded by Michael de Wath,^d to whom his executors were commanded to deliver all the rolls of chancery, together with the writs, inquisitions, records, and all other memoranda, and also the keys belonging to the said office.^e

In the eleventh of Edward the Third, John de St. Paul was appointed master, or custos, of the rolls, and was sworn before the king at Mortlake, in the presence of John archbishop of Canterbury; master Robert de Stratford, archdeacon of Canterbury, the chancellor; Henry de Ferrars and Richard de Byntworth, keepers of the privy seal, and many others;^f and the above-named Michael de Wath, then custos of the said rolls, in obedience to the king's mandate, delivered to the said John de St. Paul, the rolls, writs, and memoranda of chancery, and the keys of the chests in which the same were preserved in the Tower of London, and also the key to another chest in which some rolls and writs of chancery were deposited in the abbey of St. Mary at York.^g

In the fourteenth year of the same reign, the office of custos of the rolls of chancery was given to Thomas de Evesham, and after he had been sworn before the chancellor and others of the king's council, William de Kildesby, keeper of the privy seal, delivered to him all the rolls, bundles, and memoranda in the Tower of London, namely, in eighteen bags, one leather sack, and one great hanaper of divers indentures, and the keys of the chests in the said Tower, in which

^a Rot. Claus. 17 Edw. II. m. 10. d.

^b Ibid. 18 Edw. II. m. 1. d.

^c Ibid.

^d Ibid. 8 Edw. III. m. 37.

^e Ibid.

^f Rot. Claus. 11 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 13. d.

^g Ibid.

divers other rolls, bundles, and memoranda were likewise preserved.^a

In the next year this Thomas de Evesham was commanded, by writ of privy seal, to give up his charge to John de Thoresby, who, after he had been sworn before the king and several of the nobility and others at Woodstock, received the rolls in four leather bags, and twenty-one canvas pockets, and a certain white hanaper, in which many indentures were inclosed; also bundles of writs, memoranda, and the keys of the chests ordered for the keeping of the same rolls in the Tower.^b

In the fifth year of king Richard the Second, William de Burstall clerk, the late custos of the rolls of Chancery, delivered to John de Waltham, his successor in that office, all the rolls, memoranda, and other evidences, by indenture; and from this document, which is preserved among the records in the Tower, we derive the gratifying information, that the records now correspond in an extraordinary manner with the minute account given of them on that occasion.

As we do not, at subsequent periods, find any distinct mention of the charge of the records in the Tower, as connected with the appointment of master of the rolls, it is highly probable that this soon afterwards became a separate office, though we can give no satisfactory account of any persons specially appointed to their custody previous to the reign of king Henry the Eighth; but, after that time, the succession of keepers may be traced with a tolerable degree of certainty.

About the year 1529, the records in the Tower appear to have been in the custody of Ralph Pexall:^c on the twenty-fourth of September, 1538, the care of them was committed to Richard Eton;^d and a few years afterwards Richard de Eton and William Singe were appointed keepers for their lives and the life of the survivor.^e By king Edward the Sixth the office was granted to Edward Hales,^f who was succeeded by Robert and Rowland Harris.

In the early part of the reign of queen Elizabeth the neglected state of the public records excited particular attention, and, through

^a Rot. Claus. 14 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 9. dors.

^b Rot. Claus. 15 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 34. dors.

^c Stow's Survey of London, by Strype, vol. i. p. 118.

^d Rot. Pat. 29 Hen. VIII.

^e Ibid. 35 Hen. VIII.

^f Privy Seal Bill.

the influence of sir Thomas Parry, those in the Tower were committed to the charge of William Bowyer esquire;^a a man, whose industry and perseverance added to his historical and legal knowledge rendered him peculiarly adapted to that situation. Mr. Bowyer may be said to have been the first that merited this important trust, and his name deserves the regard of posterity for the zealous and faithful manner in which he discharged its duties.^b He appears to have enjoyed his office till his death, and was succeeded in 1581, by Thomas and Michael Heneage esquires;^c after whom was appointed the famous William Lambard, the perambulator of Kent; one of the most learned and distinguished antiquaries of his time. The Perambulation of Kent, his native county, was one of the first works that ever appeared on this species of British topography; and the high reputation he acquired by it, was sustained by his *Archaion*, *Eiren-archa*, and other learned productions.

Lambard was usually called *the handsome man of Kent*, and was acknowledged to be one of the finest and most comely persons of the day; which was not the least, perhaps, of his recommendations to the favor that he enjoyed with queen Elizabeth. When her majesty appointed him to the custody of the records in the Tower, she discoursed with him at considerable length, and evinced great solicitude about their careful preservation; and a few months afterwards, Mr. Lambard having compiled a pandect of the records under his charge, and given it to the countess of Warwick, to present to the queen, her majesty refused to take it, commanding that he should deliver it personally; which he accordingly did, in her privy-chamber at East Greenwich; and the queen, cheerfully receiving it, said, "you intended to present this booke unto mee by the countice of Warwicke, but I will none of that; for, if any subject of myne do mee a service, I will thankfully accept it from his owne hands." Her majesty then looked it over and asked various questions as to the names of the different rolls; the meaning of which Mr. Lambard severally explained; and the queen, seeming well satisfied, said, "that shee would be a scholler in her age, and thought it no scorne to learne during her life, being of the minde of that philosopher, who, in his

^a Rot. Pat. 9 Eliz.^b See page 230.^c Rot. Pat. 23 Eliz.

last yeares began with the Greek alphabet." As her majesty proceeded she came to the reign of king Richard the Second, and in allusion to his being deposed, and to the recent rebellion of the earl of Essex, she said, "I am king Richard the Second, know yee not that?" To which he replied, "such a wicked imagination was determined and attempted by a most unkind gentleman, the most adorned creature that ever your majestie made." "Yea," said the queen, "he that will forgett God will alsoe forgett his benefactor;" and then she enquired whether he had ever seen any true picture or representation of Richard's person, and being answered that he had not, excepting such as were in common hands, she said, that "the lord Lumley, a lover of antiquities, discovered it fastened on the backside of a door of a back roome, which hee presented unto mee, prayinge with my good leave that I might putt itt in order with my auncestors and successors. I will commaund Thomas Kneavett, keeper of my house and gallery at Westminster to shew it unto thee."

Then she returned to the rolls, and demanded if *Redisseisines* were not wrongful, and forcible throwing of men out of their lawful possessions? and being answered in the affirmative, she replied, that, "in those days, force and arms did prevaile, but now the wit of the fox is every where on foote, so as hardly a faithful or virtuous man may be found." Then she came to the whole amount of the several parcels of records, "commendinge the work, not only for the pains therein taken, but alsoe for that shee had not received since her first coming to the crowne any one thinge that brought therewith soe great delectation unto her; and soe, being called away to prayer, shee putt the booke in her bosome, havinge forbidden mee from the first to the last to fall upon my knee before her, concluding, *farewell good and honest Lambard.*"

Mr. Lambard's enjoyment of these honors was of but short duration: he died in the same year; and after him sir Roger Wilbraham, knight,* Robert Bowyer esquire, Henry Elsing esquire, and sir John Borough knight, were successively appointed to the custody of the records in the Tower. Mr. Elsing wrote on the "ancient method and manner of holding parliaments in England;" a work of good autho-

* Rot. Pat. 44 Eliz.

city; and sir John Borough, who was afterwards made garter king at arms, acquired the reputation of a great antiquary.

The office of keeper of the records in the Tower having become vacant in 1643, the parliament appointed the celebrated John Selden, a barrister at law, and member of parliament for the University of Oxford.

Selden, who was a native of Salvington, in Sussex, and born in the year 1584, was educated in the free grammar-school at Chichester, under Hugh Barker, who afterwards became a noted civilian. His natural talents displayed themselves at an early age, and such was his progress in the learned languages, that, when only ten years of age, he composed a Latin distich, which was cut in wood over the door of his birth-place—a house called Lacie's. At the age of fourteen he was admitted of Hart-hall, in the University of Oxford, where he remained four years, and then adopted the study of the law;* which as will hereafter be seen, he pursued with great diligence and success, although it does not appear that he ever paid much regard to it as a profession; his inclination for more profound and serious research having led him to a different course, and introduced him in early life to Camden, Cotton, Spelman, and other learned characters, among whom he soon took his station as a distinguished antiquary.

In 1607, he completed his first literary production, entitled *Analec-ton Anglo-Britanicon*. It consisted of two books, giving a summary view of every thing recorded by ancient and modern writers, relative to the civil government and public transactions of England, whether sacred or profane, down to the Norman Conquest.

Selden had now assumed the character of a writer, and, during the remainder of his life, few years elapsed without bringing some new work from his pen. In 1610 he wrote two short tracts in which he deduced the English law from the earliest periods to the reign of king John: the same year also brought forth his treatise on *single combat*; and in 1614, he published his celebrated work on *Titles of Honor*; a work which evinced most profound research into the history of this and other modern nations, and established his reputation as one of the most erudite and industrious men of the age. Two years after

* He first entered at Clifford's Inn, where he became acquainted with the forms of the common law, and then removed to the Inner Temple to qualify himself for the bar.

this he re-edited two ancient law books,* with explanatory and corrective notes, and also addressed to sir Francis Bacon, "A brief Discourse touching the office of lord chancellor of England."

In the year 1617, Mr. Selden published his learned work *De diis Syris, syntagmata duo*. The topics on which he had previously employed his pen were chiefly connected with the laws and antiquities of his own country, but in this, one of the most esteemed of all his publications, he displayed his erudition in a wider sphere. His grand object is here to discourse on the false deities noticed in the Old Testament, connecting with it an enquiry into Syrian idolatry in general, and some reflections on the ancient theology of other heathen nations. He sets out with a geographical notice of Syria, observations on the Hebrew tongue, and the worship of a plurality of gods; and concludes with a dissertation on all the Syrian deities recorded in history and holy writ. This work was received with universal applause: it went through several editions, and gave its author rank among the first literary characters of the age, both at home and abroad.

His next publication, however, was not attended with such happy results. The doctrine of divine right to tithes, as inherited by the Christian through the Jewish priesthood from the patriarchal ages, was daily gaining ground, and beginning to be looked upon as essential to the establishment of a national church; and Selden's love for research led him into an inquiry on this subject, which gave birth to his celebrated History of Tithes. This work appeared in 1618, and it displayed the author's usual depth of learning and industry, but involved him in an almost endless train of difficulties. The very name of such a book coming from the authoritative pen of Selden gave instant alarm to the clergy, and inspired them with a species of the most rancorous and mean resentment; although it was nothing more than what its title expressed—a mere history of tithes. He did not take upon himself to decide for or against the divine right; but having fairly produced and arranged the evidence on both sides, it was found to preponderate so

* These were, "De laudibus legum Angliæ," by sir John Fortescue, and Ralph de Hengham's "Summæ."

clearly against the doctrine upheld by the clergy, that they became exasperated and complained to the king; and James, whose interest inclined him the same way, twice summoned Selden before him; and he was afterwards cited in the presence of the high-commission court; whose absolute and tyrannical powers constrained him to apologize for the publication. The same authority also forbade his attempting to justify himself or his history, however virulently either might be attacked by his adversaries; and when Montague, afterwards bishop of Chichester, and subsequently of Norwich, was preparing a confutation of the work, king James, at an audience with which he honored Selden, sternly told him, that "if he or any of his friends should write against this confutation, he would throw him into prison!"

We must pass over some lesser pieces, which Selden wrote to appease his angry sovereign, and come to a more interesting period of his life; when we find him taking an active part in that memorable contest which troubled the last years of the reign of James, subverted the constitution in church and state, and brought his son and successor to his unhappy fate.

On the great constitutional question respecting the powers and privileges of parliament to interpose its advice in matters of state, which was the prelude to these events, the commons consulted Selden, who enlarged upon the subject before the house; and, elated perhaps, by the distinguished honor thus conferred upon him, or spurred by the remembrance of his recent oppressions, inveighed against the courtiers for drawing the king's affection from his parliament; expatiated on the dangers of popery, and other popular topics; and was the framer or adviser of a protestation which the commons entered upon their journals, re-asserting their claims to freedom of discussion, and to the right of interposing their advice, and declaring, "that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England;" whereupon king James dissolved the parliament, and Selden, with some of the most distinguished of the parliamentary advocates, were committed to prison; but were soon afterwards released on their petitions.

In the same year, this learned man, by order of the house of lords, wrote a short treatise, which was afterwards published, on

The privilege of the Baronage ; first considering the barons collectively as forming one of the three estates of the kingdom, and afterwards individually as barons. Shortly afterwards he also wrote on the *Judicature of Parliament*, and in 1623, edited the work of Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury ; being an account of public affairs during the three first reigns succeeding the conquest.

In 1624, Selden was chosen reader of Lincoln's Inn ; but so far was he from looking upon this in the usual light of an honor, that he refused to comply ; and was, in consequence, not only fined, but disqualified from ever being called to the bench.

It is uncertain for what place Selden first had a seat in the house of commons ; but in the parliament which was assembled soon after the accession of Charles the First, he was returned as one of the representatives for the borough of Great Bedwin in Wiltshire, and in the following year he was one of the eight members appointed to impeach the duke of Buckingham at the bar of the house of lords.

In 1627, several gentlemen who had been committed to prison, for refusing to contribute to a forced loan, being brought into the court of King's Bench by a writ of habeas corpus, Selden, who was counsel for sir Edward Hampden, one of the prisoners, took exceptions to the return, by reason of its only stating that they had been detained by the king's special mandate, without specifying the particular cause of their commitment. But, although he and the other advocates ably argued the point, and took as the groundwork of their reasoning that great bulwark of British liberty, Magna Charta, the exceptions were overruled and the gentlemen remanded to prison. The subject, however, was soon afterwards taken up by parliament, and Selden spoke on it several times in the house, with great force and effect.

Although Mr. Selden was now ardently pursuing his political career, and interesting himself with truly patriotic zeal in the many important constitutional questions about this time agitated in parliament, his literary studies were not wholly neglected. In 1628, he wrote on " Ecclesiastical jurisdiction of testaments," and on the " Administration of intestates' goods ;" and during the parliamentary recess in the same year he secluded himself at Wrest, the seat of the earl of Kent, in Bedfordshire, and compiled his *Marmora Arundeliana, sive Saxa Græca incisa* ; a work in which he again displayed

his extraordinary depth of learning, although it was not free from important errors.

In 1629, among other arbitrary and oppressive measures which came under the notice of the house of commons, the question of tonnage and poundage was not the least in importance; and the conduct of Selden and several other members, in the warm debates that took place upon it, occasioned their commitment to the Tower: where, in consequence of their refusing to find security for good behaviour, they remained a considerable time as close prisoners, and were then removed to the Marshalsea; where Selden, enjoying greater liberty than he had in the Tower, compiled his learned work on the laws of succession to property among the Jews, entitled, *De successionibus in bona defuncti ad leges Ebraeorum*.

From the Marshalsea Mr. Selden was subsequently taken to the Gate-house at Westminster; but, as these changes had been effected without the direction of the judges, he was soon returned to his place of custody in the Tower; and it was not till near the middle of the year 1631, that he obtained his freedom.

Among the many eminent persons of the time, with whom Mr. Selden lived on terms of intimacy, was the earl of Kent; and to that nobleman's mansion at Wrest he occasionally retired from the political storms in which he so actively engaged, and allowed his mind to tranquillize in literary pursuits. Thither he retreated in the summer of 1634, and compiled a small work, *De successione in Pontificatum*. His mind about this time seems to have been chiefly turned on the history, laws, and antiquities of the Jewish nation, and the success with which he pursued these studies, is sufficiently evinced by the valuable information he left to posterity on these particular subjects. This last mentioned tract is partly of an historical, and partly of a judicial nature: giving, in the first place, an account of the high priests and their succession, from Aaron to the destruction of the second temple, and then setting forth the laws of that succession and of admission to the holy offices.

In 1635, Selden, in consequence of some questions which arose with the Dutch concerning the right of fishing on the English coasts, revised and printed by order of king Charles the First, his laboured disquisition on the sovereignty of the British seas; a work written

many years before, and commonly known by the title of *Mare clausum*. By this production he established himself highly in the favor of the court, and if proof were wanting of the profundity of its author's erudition, research, and industry, this work alone would sufficiently establish his fame; and in so valuable a light was it then regarded by the government, that an order was entered in minutes of the privy council, that "one of the said books should be kept in the council chest, another in the court of Exchequer, and a third in the court of Admiralty, as faithful and strong evidence of the dominion of the British seas." Among Englishmen this was, perhaps, the most celebrated and interesting of all Mr. Selden's writings; and it was afterwards translated out of the Latin into our own tongue, and went through several editions: though, as was to have been expected, his doctrines were vehemently impugned in Holland, and other foreign countries.

We must next regard Selden as quitting for a time his literary retreats, and taking an active part in those violent political contentions, which finally involved the nation in so much confusion and misery.

In 1640, after a lapse of near twelve years, king Charles was compelled by his distresses to call another parliament, and Selden being returned to it as one of the representatives of the university of Oxford, we find him in most of the committees appointed upon the many constitutional and weighty questions which occupied the attention of the house; he was one of the members assigned to impeach the earl of Strafford at the bar of the lords, and afterwards took a similar part in the proceedings against archbishop Laud; but his name deserves the highest reverence for his defence of the established church, and for the noble stand that he made against the abolition of episcopacy.

After the king had retired to York in 1642, a design was entertained by his majesty of appointing Selden to the exalted station of keeper of the great seal, in the room of sir Edward Littleton who had rendered himself obnoxious to the court; but on being summoned to wait upon the king at York, he excused himself, and lords Clarendon and Falkland, having been directed, as it should seem, to consider of the propriety of offering the vacant office to Selden,

reported "that they did not doubt of Mr. Selden's affection for the king; but withal, they knew him so well, that they concluded he would absolutely refuse the place if it were offered to him. He was in years, and of a tender constitution; he had for many years enjoyed his ease, which he loved; he was rich, and would not make a journey to York, or have lain out of his bed, for any preferment, which he had never affected."^a

In the same year came on to be argued in the house the legality of the commission which the king had issued for raising and arraying men, and Selden contended forcibly against the measure; which coming to the king's knowledge, gave him much trouble, as he had looked upon Mr. Selden as well disposed towards him.^b Selden, however, as strenuously opposed the measures of the parliament with respect to the militia, which he declared were without a shadow or pretence of law; and from this period it is discernible, from the moderation of his politics, that he foresaw the dangers that were overhanging the country, and wished to avert the threatening evil. Indeed, when the discovery was made in 1643, of an intention on the part of the loyalists to introduce forces into London, and to disarm the militia, some suspicion seems to have fallen upon Selden, as a favorer of the design, and in order to clear himself he joined in the oath drawn up against it.

In the same year, 1643, a bill was passed in parliament for convening a synod in Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster, to discuss the points relative to the establishment of a church government, and, as several members of both houses of parliament sat in this assembly among the divines, we are informed by Whitelock, that Mr. Selden in these debates 'spake admirably, confuting divers of them in their own learning, and sometimes when they had cited a text of scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them that their translations might be thus; but that the Greek or Hebrew signified so and so!'

In the same year also, on the eighth of November, Selden received the flattering testimony of the opinion entertained of him by the house of commons, by their passing a vote appointing him to the

^a Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 572.

^b Ibid. p. 607.

custody of the records in the Tower; an office which must have been in the highest degree suitable to his inclinations and studies; but we find no traces of the manner in which he discharged his duty; nor are we acquainted with any benefits that subsequent ages have derived from his appointment to that situation.

The year 1644 produced from Selden's pen an elaborate dissertation on the writings of Talmudists or traditionalists of the Jewish church; and of the Karaites or scripturists; an inquiry into which he ably argues is necessary to a right and clear understanding of holy writ. It is intitled, *De anno civili veteris ecclesiæ, seu reipublicæ Judaicæ*; but, although it supports its author's character for great research and industry, it proved to be open to much successful criticism.

In the next year when the subject of excommunication and suspension from the sacrament, as a part of the new church discipline, came under the consideration of the house of commons, we find Selden strenuously arguing against it, and we are told by Whitelock, that he declared 'that for four thousand years there was no sign of any law to suspend persons from religious exercises: that under the law every sinner was *eo nomine* to come and offer, as he was a sinner, and no priest or other authority had to do with him; strangers were indeed kept away from the passover, but they were pagans; and the question is not now for keeping pagans, in times of Christianity, but protestants from protestant worship.' What weight Selden's argument had with the house we know not, but its decision corresponded with his sentiments.

About the same time a bill was brought in to abolish that oppressive remnant of the feudal system, the court of wards and liveries; and Mr. Selden appeared as one of its first and strongest advocates. He was also in the same year chosen master of Trinity-hall, Cambridge; an honor which he did not accept; and soon afterwards an order was entered on the journals of the house of commons for him "to bring in an ordinance for regulating the Heralds' Office," in consequence of the suppression of the marshal's court.

In the year 1647, amid the dangers which assailed the church and state, great fears were entertained by the universities lest they should experience a similar fate to that which had already attended episco-

pacy ; but Selden stood forth as the great and unyielding champion of their cause, and to his unwearied exertions they owed at least the preservation of their wealth and privileges.

As an acknowledgment to Selden and his fellow-members who had been imprisoned for opposing the arbitrary measures of the government respecting tonnage and poundage, a vote passed the house of commons about this time, awarding to each of them or their representatives the sum of five thousand pounds ; but, although an order for the payment of the money subsequently appears among the votes, we are led to believe that Selden refused to take it, ' his mind being as great as his learning, full of generosity, and harbouring nothing that seemed base.'^a

After this period Selden appears to have taken very little share in the political transactions of the times ; spending most of his remaining days in pursuing his favorite inquiries into the history, laws, and antiquities of the Jewish nations ; subjects on which he has left to posterity so many admired productions. This great ornament of the age and country that gave him birth, passed his life in celibacy, and died at the house of Elizabeth, countess dowager of Kent, in the White Friars, London, on the thirtieth of November, 1654, in the seventieth year of his age. He was buried in the Temple Church on the fourteenth of December following ; and the attendance of all the judges and bar, in mourning, with most of the distinguished men of the day, evinces the high respect entertained for the memory of a man whose talents had placed him in the highest ranks of literature, and gained him the admiration and friendship of the most exalted characters of the age in which he lived. His library, consisting of upwards of eight thousand volumes, was given to the university of Oxford, and his own works, (thirty-three in number,) most of which were published in his lifetime, have been arranged and edited in six volumes folio, with his life, in Latin, prefixed,^b by Dr. David Wilkins.

His character, as given by lord Clarendon, than whom few were better acquainted with his merits, cannot be omitted with justice to

^a Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. iii. col. 376.

^b From which, and other biographical notices of him, this cursory memoir chiefly derives its authority.

his memory. "He was," says that great man, "a person whom no character can flatter, or transmit in expressions equal to his merit and virtue. He was of so stupendous a learning in all kinds, and in all languages, (as may appear in his excellent and transcendent writings,) that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant amongst books, and had never spent an hour but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courtesy, and affability were such, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts, but that his good nature, charity, and delight in doing good, exceeded that breeding. His style in all his writings seems harsh and obscure; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abstruse subjects of which he commonly treated, out of the paths trod by other men, but to a little undervaluing the beauty of style, and too much propensity to the language of antiquity; but, in his conversation, he was the most clear discourser, and had the best faculty of making hard things easy, and presenting them to the understanding, that hath been known. Mr. Hyde was wont to say, that he valued himself upon nothing more than his having had Mr. Selden's acquaintance from the time he was very young; and held it with great delight as long as they were suffered to continue together in London; and he was much troubled always when he heard him blamed, censured, and reproached, for staying in London and in the parliament after they were in rebellion, and in the worst of times, which his age obliged him to do; and how wicked soever the actions were that every day were done, he was confident he had not given his consent to them, but would have hindered them if he could with his own safety, to which he was always enough indulgent. If he had some infirmities as other men, they were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious abilities and excellences in the other scale."

We know not how the custody of the records in the Tower was provided for during the remaining six years of the usurpation, after Selden's death; but, whoever had the charge of them, it should seem that he was removed on king Charles the Second's restoration, and the celebrated William Prynne appointed in his stead.

This famous character was a native of Swainswick, near Bath, and born in the year 1600. He entered as a commoner at Oriel College,

Oxford, in 1616; took a degree in arts in 1620, and afterwards went to study the common law in Lincoln's Inn; where he successively became a barrister, benchers, and reader. He was evidently endowed with superior talents, and learned in his profession, but had spent more time in reading divinity, and in the conversation of factious and hot-headed divines; and so by a mixture of these with the rudeness and arrogance of his own nature, he had contracted a proud venomous dislike to the discipline of the established church, and an equal irreverence for the government; both which he vented in several absurd, petulant, and supercilious discourses in print.^a

One of the great characteristics of the puritans of that age was an abhorrence of every species of scenic exhibition, and Prynne was induced, either by his own contentious disposition, or by the persuasion of his religious partizans, to publish a book in 1632, entitled *Histrio-Mastix*; in which he condemned all dramatic representations, and bitterly inveighed against females appearing on the stage; and as dramas were in those days occasionally performed at court, this gave great offence, and brought upon its author severe and ignominious punishment; for it happened, that the queen, shortly after, took a part in a pastoral, performed at Somerset-house, and although Prynne's book was proved to have been written before this took place, Laud and some other prelates, whom he had offended by his writings against Arminianism and episcopacy, represented it as having been designed against the queen's pastoral,^b and he was, in consequence, committed to the Tower. After remaining in prison upwards of a year, Mr. Prynne was brought to trial in the court of star-chamber, and was sentenced to pay a fine of five thousand pounds to the king; be expelled the University of Oxford and Lincoln's Inn; degraded and disabled from his profession; to stand in the pillory, first in Palace-yard, Westminster, and afterwards in Cheapside, and lose one of his ears in each of those places; to have his book, called *Histrio-Mastix*, burnt before his face by the hangman, and to remain prisoner during life. This, however, did not moderate his nature: he was no sooner allowed the use of pens,

^a Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 199.

^b Whitelock's Memorials of English Affairs, an. 1632.

ink, and paper, than he employed them in writing scurrilous pamphlets; but that which brought on him further disgrace and punishment, was one entitled *News from Ipswich*; in which he not only fell foul on Wrenn, bishop of Norwich, who resided there, but vented his spleen against the bishops generally in the most virulent and abusive manner: for which he was sentenced, in 1637, to pay another fine of five thousand pounds to the king; to lose what remained of his ears in the pillory; to be branded on each cheek with the letters S. L. for schismatical libeller; and to be perpetually imprisoned in Caernarvon castle; whither, after undergoing the former part of his sentence, he began his journey on the twenty-seventh of July, and was met and greeted by the "godly party" in all the principal towns through which he passed. Soon afterwards, however, it was deemed advisable that he should be taken to a greater distance, and was accordingly removed to Mount Orgueil castle, in the Isle of Jersey; and there he remained "spending his time in profitable meditations till the latter end of the year 1640; when an order was issued by the house of commons for his enlargement, and also for the release of Dr. John Bastwick, and Henry Burton bachelor of divinity, from St. Mary's castle in the Isle of Scilly, and Castle Cornet in the Isle of Guernsey.* Burton and Prynne met, and landing together at Dartmouth, travelled thence to London; and as they passed through Exeter and other principal towns, many of the "godly party" came to welcome them home, and accompanied them on horseback a distance on their journey. On the twenty-eighth of November these violent characters triumphantly entered the capital amid the acclamations of their puritanical friends; thousands of whom, to the great defiance and contempt of authority and justice, went out with rosemary and bays in their hats, to meet them, and to hail their return!

Soon after Prynne had thus regained his liberty, several members of the house of commons left it, in order to join the king; and, in lieu of one of these, he was returned for the borough of Newport, in Cornwall. He now became more inveterate than ever against the bishops, and particularly Laud, towards whom his thirst for revenge

* These persons had stood with him in the pillory, and been branded for similar offences.

was never satiated, till he had seen him beheaded, in return for the loss of his own ears, which he attributed to the archbishop's persecution. When Laud was a prisoner in the Tower, a close committee appointed Prynne to search his chamber, and seize his papers; and he was also entrusted with providing the evidence against him for his trial.

During the sitting of the memorable long parliament Prynne was extremely busy, both in and out of the house, about the points of excommunication and suspension from the sacrament; establishing church government; and other questions then agitated respecting religion: and in 1647, was one of the members appointed by parliament to visit the university of Oxford.

Towards the end of king Charles's life Prynne began to lament the misery and confusion into which that unhappy monarch and the country were brought by the party whose cause he had espoused, and he became a strenuous advocate for conciliation between the king and parliament. On the fourth of December, 1648, he made a long and very learned speech^a in the house, *touching the satisfactoriness of the king's answer to the propositions of both houses for settlement of a firm, lasting peace*; and therein so admirably pleaded the king's cause, and "with such solid reasons, arguments, and precedents out of divinity, law, and history, that no man took up the bucklers against him." On the sixth of the same month, he and other members of the house of commons, who had shewn themselves most forward for peace, and for bringing the king to his parliament, were taken and imprisoned by the army. This, however, did not stop his pen: whilst under confinement he wrote several papers on the subject of their seizure; a *Brief Memento to the present unparliamentary juncto, touching their present intentions and proceedings to depose and execute king Charles*; and various other pieces against the violent measures of that unhappy period; and no sooner was the king beheaded than he was bold enough to publish a "Proclamation, proclaiming Charles, prince of Wales, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland."

Prynne was now become as bitter an enemy to the army and

^a See the *Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England*, vol. xviii. p. 303.

their leaders, as he had formerly been towards the bishops ; and he never relaxed in opposing their tyrannical power till king Charles the Second was restored. He stood in open defiance of their authority, and declared that he could " neither in conscience, law, nor prudence, submit to the new illegal tax or contribution of ninety thousand pounds the month, lately imposed on the kingdom by a pretended act of some commons in (or rather out of) parliament."

Soon after this, by a warrant dated at Whitehall, June the twenty-fifth, 1650, Prynne was committed to close prison in Dunster castle in Somersetshire ; whence he was afterwards removed to Taunton, and finally to Pendennis castle in Cornwall.

In February, 1660, as a secluded member of the house of commons, he was restored to his seat, and immediately began to shew himself so forward and bold an advocate for king Charles the Second's restoration, that even Monk himself advised him to be more temperate.

In the ' healing parliament,' which began at Westminster on the twenty-fifth of April in the same year, Prynne sat as one of the representatives for the city of Bath.

When king Charles was restored to the throne, some one asked him what should be done with Prynne to make him quiet ? " Why," said his majesty, " let him amuse himself with writing against the catholics, and in poring over the records in the Tower ;" * of which he thereupon gave him the custody, with a salary of five hundred pounds per annum.

In the same year he was also appointed one of the six commissioners for appeals and regulating the excise ; and, in the month of April, 1661, was again elected to represent the city of Bath in parliament ; but soon afterwards, upon some occasion of discontent, he published a paper against the house of commons, entitled, *Sundry reasons tendered to the most honourable house of peers, &c. against the new intended bill for governing and reforming corporations*. This pamphlet was immediately noticed by the house, and declared to be " illegal, false, scandalous, and seditious ;" and Prynne, being called to the bar as its author, confessed that it was written by him ; but

* Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons, vol. ii. p. 90.

disclaimed any mischievous intent; expressed the deepest contrition for the offence, and humbly craved pardon: which, in consideration of his late services and hazards for the king, and his expressions of sorrow, the house granted, and he was allowed to return to his seat.

From this period Prynne devoted his abilities to more useful purposes than writing abusive pamphlets. The remainder of his life seems, for the most part, to have been employed in looking over the records which had recently been committed to his care, and in making collections from them for his subsequent publications; a work which he pursued with such unceasing diligence, that few things in that vast repository appear to have escaped his penetrating eye. His zeal, however, was directed more by the desire of adding to his voluminous writings, than of putting the records into a proper state of arrangement; towards which he did but little beyond collecting the writs and returns to parliaments, which form the groundwork of his *Brevia parliamentaria rediviva*, and a number of papal bulls, and royal and other letters, most of which he made use of in compiling his three ponderous volumes against the pope's usurpations, generally known by the title of *Prynne's Records*.

Prynne passed his life in celibacy: he died in 1669, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and was buried under the chapel in Lincoln's Inn. He was a man of great legal erudition; indefatigable in whatever he undertook; upright and independent in principle, and with talents eminently calculated to have rendered him ornamental as well as useful to his country, had they been guided by discretion, instead of that fiery headlong zeal by which they were unfortunately warped, during the greater portion of his life.

Prynne has been characterized as 'one of the greatest paper worms that ever crept into a library,' and the multiplicity of his different writings sufficiently countenance the assertion. They amount to nearly two hundred, and form forty volumes in folio and quarto, as presented by himself to the library of Lincoln's Inn. They are all in English, and many of them, it must be owned, possess very little value, whilst others display vast learning and industry, and support his reputation as a distinguished antiquary. The most valuable part of his works are those which he wrote after his appoint-

ment to the custody of the records: his four books on parliaments, his *Aurum Reginæ*, and *Animadversions on Coke's Institutes*, are works of good authority and repute; and his three large volumes against papal usurpations, though not to be admired either for style or arrangement, evince great labor and research.

When pursuing his studies it was his custom to wear a long quilted cap, which projected over his eyes and formed a shade to defend them from too much light.^a He read or wrote nearly the whole day, and such was his intense application, that, in order that his studies might not be interrupted by regular meals, bread, cheese, and ale were placed upon a table before him; and to these he had recourse as he found his spirits exhausted by mental exertion.^b

"Prynne appears to have been a perfectly honest man. He equally opposed Charles, the army, and Cromwell, when he thought they were betrayers of the country; and after having accurately observed, and sensibly felt, in his own person, the violation of law occasioned by each of them, he gave his most strenuous support to the legal and established government of his country, effected by the restoration of Charles the Second to the crown of these kingdoms."^c

After the death of Prynne the custody of the records in the Tower was given to sir Algernon May, knight, with the same salary of five hundred pounds per annum. Sir Algernon appears to have been a zealous and useful officer, but it should seem that his services were but coldly requited. It was evidently the custom of former times regularly to transmit the rolls and other records from the Rolls Chapel to the Tower, at stated periods; which, for the safety and better preservation of these national muniments, sir Algernon was sensible ought to have been continued, and he therefore, soon after his coming into office, used all his influence to have the ancient practice revived;^d but without effect. In his answer to the council, dated the fourteenth of December, 1676, on the duties of his office, he states that he has repaired several hundred rolls and bundles of ancient records; prays that a house may be provided for the office;

^a Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

^b *Ibid.* and *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*, vol. ii. p. 90. edit. 1796.

^c *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*, *ut supra*.

^d Lord Buckingham's MSS. at Stowe, press iv. N^o. 170.

that the presses be repaired, and his salary duly paid:^a but so little does this latter request appear to have been attended to, that, in 1681, he informed the lords' committee that there was then due to him the sum of three thousand pounds.^b Sir Algernon continued in charge of the records till the year 1702, when queen Anne granted him an annuity or yearly pension of two hundred and fifty pounds in lieu of that office;^c the execution of which, with the remaining two hundred and fifty pounds, she gave to William Petyt esquire, who, in case he should survive sir Algernon, was then to enjoy the other two hundred and fifty pounds: in all five hundred pounds per annum, as keeper of the said records.

Mr. Petyt, who was treasurer of the Inner Temple, was an eminent sage of the law, and one of the most distinguished antiquaries of his time. It has been said of him by a respectable contemporary,^d that "as he had long studied, and was arrived at deep knowledge in the ancient history and constitutions of this kingdom, so he was very communicative of it to all who repaired to him for that purpose; and was very assistant to such as published any thing of that nature;" "he was a strong assertor of the liberties of England, and how well he acquitted himself therein, his books printed against Dr. Brady do shew. He did for many years employ his clerks in making extracts of such records and rolls lying in the office of which he was keeper, as might be of public use to be known and read in these times, and let in light into the affairs of the state or the church; which, at last, amounted to a great number of volumes fairly written." These with a great many other valuable MSS. of law, history, antiquity, processes, acts of parliament, and church affairs, by his last will he left to certain of his friends, to be repositied in some convenient place, and bequeathed one hundred and fifty pounds to build a place for their reception,^e which was accordingly done in the Inner Temple, where they are still preserved.

Mr. Petyt died in 1707, and was succeeded as keeper of the records by Richard Topham; and on his decease that charge was given to David Polhill esquire, who was a representative in par-

^a Lord Buckingham's MSS. at Stowe, press iv. N°. 170.

^b Ibid. press xxi.

^c Rot. Pat. 2 Ann.

^d Stowe's Survey of London by Strype, vol. i. p. 120.

^e Ibid.

liament for the city of Rochester,^a and one of the famous Kentish petitioners.^b

After Mr. Polhill the records in the Tower were successively in the custody of William Hay esquire; sir John Shelly baronet, and Thomas Astle esquire; the latter of whom is known to the world by his curious and valuable work, the *History of Writing*. Mr. Astle, who was keeper of the records for near thirty years, died in 1803, and in the beginning of the following year they were placed under the custody of Samuel Lysons esquire, who is well known to have been one of the most distinguished literary ornaments of the present age.

Mr. Lysons, who was born on the seventeenth of May, 1763, was the younger son of the Rev. Daniel Lysons, rector of Rodmarton, in Gloucestershire; but whose seat and extensive property were situated at Hempstead in that county. Mr. Lysons, after completing his classical education, spent some time in the office of Mr. Jeffries, an eminent solicitor at Bath, in order to initiate himself in the forms of the common law; and while there 'the peculiar energy of his mind, his various acquirements, and excellent qualities, gained him the attention and esteem of many of the most exalted persons who then occasionally resided in that city, and by whom he was afterwards introduced to the first literary circles.'

Having previously entered at the Inner Temple, he removed to London in 1784, and finished his legal studies under Mr. Walton; but was not called to the bar till 1798, as he previously devoted several years to practising as a special pleader. Had the bias of Mr. Lysons's genius inclined him to the law, his talents would unquestionably have raised him to the highest ranks and honors in his profession; but, although he pursued his studies with diligence and success, his mind was turned on other objects: it was bent on exploring the antiquities and early history of his country; and the friendship which he cultivated, from an early age, with sir Joseph Banks and other learned men of the time, tended, no doubt, to confirm him irrevocably in his choice.

^a *Hist. Register*, a°. 1730, vol. xv. p. 60.

^b *Macky's Journey through England*, vol. i. p. 280. edit. 1782.

In 1786, when only twenty-three years of age, Mr. Lysons became a member of the Society of Antiquaries, and continued till the time of his decease, one of its most useful and zealous supporters: during eleven years he held the honorary office of director; but this he resigned in 1809, and in November, 1812, was chosen one of the vice presidents.

In July, 1796, he was introduced by sir Joseph Banks, at Kew, to their late majesties and the royal family, who from that time continued to honor him with their frequent notice, and always evinced a lively interest in his discoveries and pursuits.

In the month of February, 1797, he was elected a member of the Royal Society, and in 1810, had the distinguished honor of being chosen its vice-president and director.

In the beginning of the year 1804, Mr. Lysons was appointed to the office of keeper of his majesty's records in the Tower, which had become vacant by the decease of Mr. Astle; and it may justly be said that no one ever held that important situation who discharged its duties more zealously or more successfully for the public good. Whatever might have been attempted in former ages towards reducing the records in this office to a proper state of classification and arrangement, there were but few appearances of any beneficial results, when Mr. Lysons entered upon his charge. He found a great portion of the records in the White Tower lying in total disorder, and their consequence almost wholly unknown; but by obtaining a competent establishment, and by directing attention to these neglected treasures, a vast collection of royal letters, state papers, and parliamentary and other documents of the highest value and importance were rescued from a state of filth and decay, and the whole arranged and methodized, in a manner essential to their preservation, and becoming the name and dignity of the nation to which they belong. To accomplish these desirable measures, Mr. Lysons also obtained additional chambers in that building, and under his direction, were also begun a copious calendar to the chancery proceedings, and other works which promise great public utility.

On Mr. Lysons being appointed to an office so congenial to his inclination and studies, he wholly retired from the bar, and passed the remainder of his days in the diligent fulfilment of his public

duty, and the ardent pursuit of his various literary labors; enjoying the intimacy and friendship of the first and greatest characters of his day, and finally leaving a space in society which few are qualified to fill.

The last public tribute of admiration and respect paid to this estimable and learned man, was conferred upon him by the Royal Academy of Arts. In 1818, the honorary office of antiquary professor in that society being revived, Mr. Lysons was chosen to fill it, and his appointment met the most cordial sanction of his royal highness the Prince Regent.

The works which Mr. Lysons has left to posterity, are remarkable for the extent of learning and variety of talent displayed in them, as well as for the extraordinary industry, and the accuracy of information with which they are compiled. His laborious work in folio on Gloucestershire Antiquities, which was his first production, and which consists of one hundred and ten plates, with copious descriptions, was wholly engraved by himself, from his own drawings; and the like may be said with respect to many of the illustrations in his subsequent literary undertakings. By his great and splendid work on the Roman remains discovered at Woodchester, and his collection of Roman antiquities found at Horkstow, Bath, Bignor, and other parts of Britain, he has more largely contributed than any other person, not only to the early history of the island, but to our information respecting the manners of its Roman conquerors. In the great topographical work, the *Magna Britannia*, which he had been pursuing for near twenty years, in conjunction with his learned brother, the Rev. Daniel Lysons, the parts which he undertook were relating to antiquities in the general history, and the heads of geology, surface, and scenery, together with the superintendence of the embellishments of the work, many of which, particularly in the earlier volumes, were drawn and etched by himself; but all the family and parochial history, and a large portion of the general history, were entirely compiled by his reverend brother. Mr. Lysons had begun or had in contemplation several other works, but the world is deprived of these by his premature and lamented death. In printing an index to the early bills and answers in chancery, with specimens prefixed, illustrative of the early practice of that court, he had made very considerable pro-

gress, and the work will now be completed and published under the direction of the commissioners on the public records; but in his other designs he had only made very trifling progress: indeed, his capacious mind grasped at more than any individual power could accomplish, and when we view collectively all the productions of his pen, his pencil, and his graver, it is astonishing how any person, with his numerous other avocations, could have done so much. His drawings were made with great accuracy and spirit, and to this talent, and his skill in etching, which has rarely been equalled by an amateur, may be attributed the vast extent and variety of his graphic productions.

To his profound knowledge of the history and antiquities of his country Mr. Lysons united great classical learning; and the comprehensive powers of his memory, which enabled him to retain accurately, and recal readily, whatever he had read or heard, materially assisted him in his labors, and also gave peculiar attractions to his conversation, by supplying him with an inexhaustible fund of information and anecdote. The singular enthusiasm with which he devoted himself to his favorite pursuits is well known to the literary world; but the warmth of his private attachments, and the affectionate feelings which he displayed in all the relations of domestic life, could only be seen within the circle of his family and nearest friends; and among these his memory will always be associated with sentiments of the strongest regard: for there was experienced under every circumstance, the invariable firmness of his friendship, and genuine goodness of his heart: indeed, in all the qualities that distinguish and adorn a man, as a son, a brother, and a friend, it is impossible to do justice to his memory.

Mr. Lysons, having passed his life in celibacy, died after a short illness, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1819, and was succeeded in the office of keeper of the records by Henry Petrie esquire, whose long and intimate acquaintance with the antiquities and history of his country render him eminently qualified to fill the place of so great and learned a man.

Adjoining the Record Tower, on the west, is a grand lofty portal, which forms the principal entrance to the inner ward; and over it is a dismal looking structure, generally denominated

THE BLOODY TOWER.

The gate-way, which is in the style of architecture of the fourteenth century, was erected, perhaps, in the time of king Edward the Third; at which period we find, that many repairs and alterations were made to the fortress. It is about thirty-four feet long, and fifteen wide, and the fine groining and tracery, which adorn the vaulting, rise from grotesque heads. Each end of this entrance was originally secured by gates and a strong portcullis,^a and, on the eastern side, between these defences, was a small circular stone staircase leading to the superstructure, which formed the lodging of the porter or watch, and consisted of two gloomy apartments, one over the other, and a space for working the portcullis.

In the careful and very minute survey which was taken of the Tower in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, this building is called the *Garden Tower*;^b by reason of its contiguity to the constable's or lieutenant's garden, which now forms a part of what is termed the Parade. In the year 1597, another survey was made of the fortress,^c by order of queen Elizabeth, and it was then known by its present appellation; which it is generally supposed to have derived from the circumstance of the two young princes, Edward the Fifth, and his brother, Richard duke of York, sons of king Edward the Fourth, having, as it is said, been put to death in this particular spot, by order of their uncle, the duke of Gloucester, afterwards king Richard the Third. It has already been noticed that the whole story of the two royal youths having been destroyed in the Tower, comes to us "in so questionable a shape," that it can never be entertained without some serious doubts: if we admit, however, that the young princes really came to a violent death in the Tower, the idea of this place having been the scene of their destruction, rests on no authority; and the story which the warders,^d whose trade it is 'to tell a

^a At the end towards the south, both the gates and the portcullis still exist: they are extremely massive, and carry with them every appearance of high antiquity. The staircase leading to the porter's lodge, though not now made use of, also remains; but the gates, as well as the portcullis, which were at the northern end of the gate-way, have long since been removed.

^b See Appendix to Part I.

^c See the general plan of the Tower annexed to this work.

^d Of these men, (whom most persons who have visited the curiosities in the Tower will, no



Drawn & Engraved by F. Nash.

GATE-WAY OF THE SALVO TOWER.

Printed by Messrs. G. & C.

wondrous tale,' so gravely propagate respecting the discovery of their bones under the little staircase above alluded to, is still more glaringly false: bones, it is true, were found in the Tower in the reign of king Charles the Second, and they were looked upon to be those of children, of ages corresponding with the two princes;^a but, it is most decidedly known that they were discovered in a very different part of the fortress; namely, on the south side of the White Tower, at the foot of a staircase which leads to the chapel in that building.^b

Without dwelling on the seeming inconsistency of the epithet *bloody* being applied to a building, because, as it is imagined, two children were *smothered* in it, it may not be amiss briefly to enquire how far it is likely that its name can be connected with that circumstance. Soon after the death of king Edward the Fourth, his two sons were conveyed to the Tower^c under the charge of their uncle, with the professed intent of secluding them from the bustle of the court, whilst preparations were to be made for the eldest's coronation.^d Is it then to be supposed, whatever might have been the pro-

doubt, remember) an account will be given in the Second Part of this work, setting forth the origin, and all the particular rights and privileges of their corps.

^a As a vast quantity of records were ordered to be removed in 1674, from the office of the six clerks in Chancery Lane, and to be repositied in the chapel in the White Tower, it became necessary to make a new stair up to that part of the building; and, as the workmen were digging at the foot of the old staircase they found some bones, the proportion of which "being answerable to the ages of the royal youths," king Charles the Second "was so well satisfied that these must be those princes' bones, that he caused them to be translated, and decently and honorably interred in Henry the Seventh's chapel, among their royal ancestors. They are repositied near two other royal children, Mary and Sophia, the daughters of king James the First; and the monument for them, made of white marble, hath this inscription in capital letters."

H. S. S.

"RELIQUIE EDWARDI V^{ci}. REGIS ANGLIÆ, ET RICHARDI DUCIS EBORACENSIS. HOS FRATRES GERMANOS TURRE LONDINENSI CONCLUSOS, INJECTISQ. CULCITRIS SUFFOCATOS, ABDITÈ ET INHONESTÈ TUMULARI JUSSIT PATRUUS RICHARDUS PERFIDUS REGNI PRÆDO. OSSA DESIDERATORUM DIU ET MULTUM QUÆSITA, POST ANNOS, CX. ET I. SCALARUM IN RUDERIBUS, (SCALE ISTÆ AD SACELLUM TURRIS ALBÆ NUPER DUCEBANT) ALTE DEFOSSA, INDICIIS CERTISSIMIS SUNT REPERTA, XVII. DIE JULII, ANNO DOM. MDCLXXIII. CAROLUS II. REX CLEMENTISS. ACERBAM SORTEM MISERATUS INTER AVITA MONUMENTA PRINCIPIBUS INFELICISSIMIS JUSTA PERSOLVIT, ANNO DOM. MDCLXXVIII. ANNOQ; REGNI SUI XXX. J. S."—*Kennet*, vol. i. p. 551, *note*.

^b See page 109.

^c See pages 54, 55.

^d It had for a long while been the custom for the king or queen to take up their residence at the Tower for a short time previous to their coronations, and thence they generally proceeded in state through the city to be crowned at Westminster.

tector's design as to the ultimate fate of his nephews, that the princes were not lodged in the royal apartments,^a and paid all the respect due to their rank? Is it likely that Richard should have had them shut up in the dark and wretched dwelling of one of the porters of the gates? If he had wanted in humanity, would policy have dictated such a course? No, it must at once have betrayed some foul design, without adding a jot to the facility of its perpetration. But a stronger proof we need not have that the name of the building did not originate in the circumstance in question, is its not having assumed the appellation till upwards of a century after the supposed act. It has already been shewn, that in the early part of the reign of king Henry the Eighth it was known by a different title; and it is not before the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth that we find it marked out as the scene of some horrid deed.^b

From the Bloody Tower the inclosure wall is continued westward to the Bell Tower; an account of which began the description of the inner ballium.

The armories, which are situated within the line of fortifications already described, will finish the account of the inner ward. These are deservedly objects of general attraction to persons of all nations, who visit the capital of the British empire; but the charges that are made for admission, added to the demands of those persons who conduct strangers to view them, form a ground for loud and universal complaint, and are justly looked upon by foreigners as a scandal and disgrace to the liberality of our national character. As the contents of these places are sufficiently described in a little book sold to persons who come to view them; it will be unnecessary here to enter upon any thing further than a cursory and general notice.

^a The buildings of the palace were then in a perfect state, and frequently inhabited by the royal family.

^b Between the reign of Henry the Eighth, when this building was called the *Garden Tower*, and the year 1597, when it was known as the *Bloody Tower*, the Tower was crowded with state-delinquents of all descriptions, and as the structure in question was, no doubt, then frequently used as a prison, it more probably derived its present name from some of the horrid events which distinguished that era: possibly from the tragical end of Henry the eighth earl of Northumberland, who put a period to his existence while a prisoner in the Tower, in 1585; but whose death was set down as one of those "foul and midnight murders," that are supposed to have been committed within the circuit of these dismal walls.—See page 92.

THE SPANISH ARMORY

Is an old brick building situated opposite to the south-west angle of the White Tower, and derives its name from being chiefly stored with specimens of the weapons, instruments of torture, and other curiosities found on board the Spanish fleet, called the *Armada*, which, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, was destined for the invasion of England; but being met in the channel, was wholly taken or dispersed by the English fleet. There is also an ancient axe,



with which, as it is said, queen Anne Boleyn, lady Jane Grey, and other distinguished personages were beheaded: a clever representation of queen Elizabeth, as she is supposed to have appeared, reviewing her troops at Tilbury camp, occupies the upper end of the room; and there are some interesting specimens of Saxon, Danish, and other weapons.

THE HORSE ARMORY.

This is also an old mean looking brick erection, standing nearly opposite the south-east angle of the White Tower, and contains a representation of the line of most of our English monarchs, from William the Conqueror down to king George the Second. They are in fine armor, on horseback, and have altogether a grand and imposing effect. There are also various specimens of ancient and modern armor; a vast collection of cuirasses found on the memorable field of Waterloo, and a curious model of the first silk machine used with any success in this country; the design of it was brought from Italy in the early part of the last century, by Mr. John Loombe, an excellent mechanic, who procured the assistance of two artists belonging to the silk mills there, and by their means got draw-

ings and models of the machinery; with which, at the hazard of his life, he escaped into England, about the year 1717. He brought over with him the two Italians, and soon afterwards procured a patent; but, before he could reap the benefits of his exertions he died by poison, falling a sacrifice, as was suspected, to the revenge of the Italian manufacturers.^a On the expiration of the patent, a sum of fourteen thousand pounds was granted by parliament to the patentee's representatives, as a further recompense for the services he had rendered his country. The machinery of this invention has since undergone many alterations and improvements, and is still worked at Derby, where it was first erected.

THE SMALL ARMORY.

This stately building is situated opposite the north side of the White Tower, and is 345 feet long, and sixty feet wide. It is formed of brick, edged with Portland stone, and over the entrance, which is extremely elegant, is a celebrated piece of carving by Gibbons. Its erection was begun in the reign of king James the Second; but was finished by William and Mary, who, on its completion, entertained their court here with a splendid dinner. The ground floor, besides containing a great variety of ancient pieces of artillery, is filled with chests of arms, tools, and accoutrements; but the first floor, which forms only one room, is fitted up as a repository for small arms, and of the taste and elegance with which the arms are arranged it is impossible to convey an idea.^b

THE OUTER WARD.

The principal fortifications of the outer ward consist of a chain of small towers on that side of the fortress next the Thames,^c all of which were erected in the latter part of the reign of king Henry the Third,

^a Lysons's *Britannia*, vol. v. p. 105.

^b Besides this repository, which contains about one hundred and fifty thousand stand of small arms, there are several large apartments fitted up as armories in the White Tower, and another large building adjoining the office of Ordnance appropriated to the same purpose.

^c The space between the inner and outer walls on the north, east, and west sides of the fortress, is taken up with old brick buildings, now occupied as barracks; but formerly used for the works of the Royal Mint, which, from the early part of the reign of king Edward the Third till about ten years ago, were regularly carried on in the Tower.

and some of them exhibit interesting specimens of the architecture of that period. The first of these in the survey made of the fortress in 1595, is denominated

THE DEVELIN TOWER;

But in that which was taken in the time of king Henry the Eighth, it is called the Galley-man Tower, and in the "Particular of the names of Towers" preserved among the Harleian manuscripts, dated in 1641,^a it is termed the Iron-gate Tower, and is described as being then "an old ruynous place." Its situation is now occupied by a small stone building of modern date; and there appears to remain very little if any of the original structure. The wall from this building runs in a westerly direction to another tower, which, in each of the plans and surveys taken of the fortress from the time of king Henry the Eighth, is denominated

THE WELL TOWER.

In the "Particular of the names of all the towers," above referred to, this building is described as a prison lodging.^b The lower part of it is all that is now extant of the original work; but this remains in a very perfect state, and exhibits a curious specimen of the architecture of the middle of the thirteenth century. It consists of a vaulted apartment,^c about fifteen feet long by ten wide, and a small adjoining cell, made in the thickness of the ballium wall, the entrance to which is now bricked up. It receives light through narrow embrasures, and there still exists, in a very entire state, a small stone stair, leading to the rooms over head, which are now those of a modern dwelling.

The next tower stands at the distance of one hundred and eight feet farther westward, and is called

THE CRADLE TOWER.

The upper portion of this tower seems to have been, in early times, connected with the apartments of the old palace, but in common with most of the ancient buildings, it was used, in 1641, as a prison lodg-

^a See Appendix to Part I.

^b Ibid.

^c See plate xxv.

ing.^a Like the last mentioned structure, only the lower part of the original is now extant; but this is very perfect, and is a beautiful example of the masonry in use at the time that these works were erected, which appears to have been about the latter part of the reign of king Henry the Third. It forms a curious vaulted gateway, which led in former times to a small drawbridge, and on each side of the entrance to it was a little room, designed, no doubt, for the porters or guard. These are also neatly vaulted with stone, and in that on the right hand side, exist the remains of a circular stone stair, which communicated with the rooms above. The archway is eight feet wide, and either end seems clearly to have been defended by a strong portcullis and gates.

From the Cradle Tower, the inclosure wall is continued westward to a more considerable fortification denominated

TRAITOR'S GATE.

This is a large square building, formerly called Saint Thomas's Tower, but from having under it a private passage by water from the Thames, through which state-prisoners were usually brought into the fortress, it at length acquired its present appellation. The interior retains much of its original appearance, particularly in two circular towers, projecting materially from the body of the structure, at the south-east and south-west angles; in each of which are two little sexagonal apartments one over the other, which are very entire, and exhibit interesting specimens of the early pointed style of architecture. They all nearly correspond in form and dimensions,^b and the vaulting of their roofs rise from small round columns with sexagonal capitals.

The next and last fortification of the outer ward is denominated

THE BY-WARD TOWER.

This building stands at the south-west angle of the fortress, and forms the principal entrance to the exterior line of fortifications. It is a strong tower, flanked with bastions, and the gate-way was originally defended by gates and a portcullis. The interior of

^a See Appendix to Part I.

^b One of these is represented in the fourth volume of the *Monumenta Vetusta*, pl. lii.



Drawn by F. Nash.

Engraved by W. Cook

VUE DE LA CITADELLE DE LONDRE

Paris 1792

Londre, l'Hotel de la Marine, 1792, by T. Gidell in the Strand



Drawn by F. Elgar

Engraved by E. Sands

INTERIOR OF THE ROUND CHURCH

Printed by W. G. & Co.

London Published March 6 1891 by T. Agnew & Sons

the structure remains in great perfection, particularly an octagonal apartment about sixteen feet in diameter, on each side of the gateway.^a These exist in a very entire state, and are highly interesting examples of architecture. They receive light through narrow embrasures, and are in precisely the same style as the small rooms or oratories already spoken of at Traitor's-Gate, especially as regards the vaulting, and the columns and capitals from which it springs. An ancient stone fire-place is still perfect in each, and there can be little doubt but that these rooms were originally designed and used as lodges or waits for the porters and guards of the gates.

Opposite to this building on the outer side of the ditch is another tower, called in the different plans and surveys

THE MARTIN TOWER.

This is also a strong portal flanked with bastions, and defended with gates and a portcullis, corresponding in almost every particular with that which is last described, except that the upper part is of comparatively modern construction. This tower protects the entrance to the principal bridge, and on the basement floor in each bastion is a guard-room or lodge for the porters; in age and most other respects similar to those in the Byward Tower.

Beyond the Martin Tower, there anciently stood some considerable outworks; but these have been wholly taken down,^b and the site of them is now partly occupied by a barrack, and partly by the buildings and yard of

THE ROYAL MENAGERIE.

The keeping of ferocious animals of distant nations seems to have been a custom with our monarchs from a very early period: we are informed that king Henry the First had a collection of lions, leopards, and other strange beasts at his manor of Woodstock,^c and in subsequent ages we discover frequent mention of them, as kept in the Tower of London. In 1252, king Henry the Third sent to the Tower

^a They are on the ground floor, and that on the north side of the gateway is represented in the annexed plate; but the other has lost the upper part of its vaulting.

^b Such as remained of them were pulled down at the time of the great fire of London, to prevent the flames from communicating with the fortress.

^c Stow's Survey of London, p. 77. edit. 1618.

a white bear,^a which had been brought to him as a present from Norway, and the sheriffs of London were commanded to pay four pence every day for his maintenance; and, in the following year, an order was also given to them to provide a muzzle for the said bear, and an iron chain to hold him out of the water, and likewise a long and stout cord to hold him when fishing in the river Thames.^b

Two years after this an elephant was presented to the king, by Lewis king of France;^c he was landed at Sandwich, to the great astonishment of the people, who crowded to see him from all parts of the country; and, being brought to London, the king gave directions to the sheriffs of London to cause a house to be built for him in the Tower, forty feet long by twenty wide.^d

In the succeeding reigns we also find frequent mention of the king's lions, leopards, bears, and other wild animals, kept in the Tower.^e In the time of Edward the Second the sheriffs of London were directed to provide a quarter of mutton every day for the king's lion there, and to pay three halfpence daily to his keeper;^f and it is curious to notice, that about the same time frequent orders were given to pay sixpence per diem for the maintenance of the king's lion, and the like for his leopard, and three halfpence daily for the wages of their keepers,^g when several esquires, who were confined there as

^a Rot. Liberat. 36 Hen. III. m. 3. in Turr. Lond.

^b Rex vicecomitibus London', salutem. Præcipimus vobis quod custodi albi ursi nostri, qui nuper missus fuit nobis de Noruvagiâ et est in Turri nostrâ London', habere faciatis unum musellum et unam catenam ferream ad tenendum ursum illum extra aquam, et unam longam et fortem cordam ad tenendum eundem ursum piscantem in aquâ Thamisiæ. Et custum, &c. comp' &c. Teste Rege, apud Windes', xxx. die Octobris.—Rot. Liberat. de anno 37 Hen. III. m. 15. in Turr. Lond.

^c Mat. Paris, p. 1204. Hollinshed.

^d De quadam domo construendâ ad elephantem Regis.—Rex vicecomitibus London', salutem. Præcipimus vobis quod de firmâ civitatis nostræ London' sine dilatione construi faciatis ad Turrim nostram London' unam domum longitudinis xl. pedum et latitudinis xx. pedum ad elephantem nostram, provisuri quod taliter fiat et ita fortis sit ut cum opus fuerit ad alios usus apta sit et necessaria. Et custum, &c. computabitur vobis ad scaccarium. Teste Rege apud West. monasterium xxvj. die Februarii.—Rot. Liberat. 39 Hen. III. m. 11. et Rot. Claus. ejusdem anni, m. 16.

^e Rot. Liberat. 19 Edw. I. m. 4. Rot. Claus. 8 Edw. II. m. 12. Ibid. 19 Edw. III. m. 19. 11 Edw. III. pars 1. m. 13, &c.

^f Rot. Claus. 7 Edw. 2. m. 27. in Turr. Lond.

^g Rot. Claus. 7 Edw. II. m. 2. 8 Edw. II. m. 27. 10 Edw. II. m. 15. 12 Edw. II. m. 26. 14 Edw. II. m. 14.

prisoners, were allowed but a penny a day each for their support.^a

The office of keeper of the lions, and other wild beasts in the Tower, was at later periods granted by letters patent, with the fee of twelve pence per diem, and six pence every day were also allowed for the maintenance of each of the lions, lionesses, and leopards. King Henry the Sixth gave the office, first to Robert Mansfield esq. marshal of his hall,^b and subsequently to Thomas Rookes his dapifer.^c Edward the Fourth gave it to Ralph Hastings esquire for life;^d Richard the Third conferred it on sir Robert Brakenbury the lieutenant of the Tower,^e and king Henry the Seventh, immediately after his accession, granted the office, together with that of constable of the Tower, to John earl of Oxford,^f with the accustomed fees and perquisites.

King James the First sometimes amused himself and his court here with combats between these animals, and by baiting them with dogs. We are told that on the third of June, 1604, he took with him the duke of Lenox, with divers earls and lords, and caused a lion and lioness to be put forth, and a live cock to be thrown to them; 'which, being their natural enemy, they immediately killed and sucked the blood:' a lamb was next put in, yet this they did not offer to hurt; but next when the king ordered a fresh lion to be brought out and two mastiffs to be let in upon him, a furious battle ensued. Afterwards a spaniel was cast into a lion's den, but the lion and he became friends and lived together for several years.

In 1609, another of these exhibitions took place, which was attended by the king and queen, prince Henry, and many of the nobility. A bear having killed a child was doomed to punishment, and accordingly was brought into an open yard and a lion turned out to meet him; but the lion declined an attack, and retired again to his den, and others which were tried proved equally shy; after which the king commanded him to be baited to death with dogs.^g

^a Rot. Claus. 14 Edw. II. m. 18.

^b Rot. Pat. 16 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 34.

^c Rot. Claus. 39 Hen. IV. m. 2.

^d Rot. Pat. 4 Edw. IV. p. 1. m. 19.

^e Brevia sub privato sigillo 1 Rich. III. in Turr. Lond.

^f Rymer. tom. xii. p. 276.

^g Stow's Survey of London, by Strype, vol. i. p. 123.

Most of the beasts and birds kept at the Tower are presents to the king and royal family, either from foreign princes, or from naval and military officers returning from abroad. The menagerie was formerly very fine and extensive, but now, perhaps from bad management, or the inexperience of their keepers, many of the beasts have died, and the collection is greatly diminished.

This, being the last portion of the fortress that is worthy of particular notice, concludes the local description of the Tower, and forms

THE END OF THE FIRST PART.

